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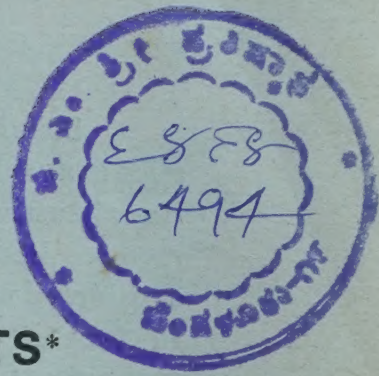
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The Journal will be a biannual in English to be published in the first week of January and June each year.

Papers

The manuscripts of articles should be submitted in *triplicate* typed double space with wide margins. Language data should be underlined with meaning in inverted commas. The system of footnoting and listing of bibliography will be those adopted in *Language*. The article if theoretically important will be treated as in *Current Anthropology* and published with comments and replies. Fifty offprints will be issued free of cost to the authors. Classical papers which are out of print will also be republished, if there is demand.



ADDRESS TO THE INDIAN LINGUISTS*

R. N. Srivastava
University of Delhi

I

First of all let me take this opportunity to express my thanks for the honour bestowed upon me by electing me president of the Dravidian Linguistics Association of India for the year 1986-87. Some of you might recall that the First All India Conference of this Association was also held at Trivandrum in the year 1971 and its venue was named in honour of Keralapaanini. In order to enshrine the names of the great grammarians of Tamil, Kannada and Telugu, gates in honour of Tolkaappiyar, Kesiraja and Nannaya were also put up on the main roads of the city. In his intellectually refreshing Presidential Address, Professor S. K. Chatterji emphasized the unity of Indian culture, the significant contributions of Dravidian scholars to Sanskrit studies, the convergence process that underwent across different language families of India and the points of agreement between the Sanskritic world of Aryan and the Old Dravidian world as in the Sangam literature of Tamil as demonstrated by scholars like V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, V. R. Ramachandra Dikshiter etc. Professor Chatterji also surveyed briefly the state of arts in the field of Dravidian linguistics and indicated how much more remained to be done in future. Much water has flown in the field of teaching of linguistics in India since 1971 and it has become necessary now that we should have a short account of the review and prospect of the field.

*Presidential Address to the Sixteenth All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists held at Trivandrum, 13-16 Jan. 1988.

II

Scholarly achievement of ancient India in the field of linguistics is a well acknowledged fact. Viewed from the point of view of its exhaustiveness, its internal consistency and its economy of statements, Panini's grammar of Sanskrit (*Aṣṭadhyāyī*) can be considered as the superior most grammar of any language yet written. In fact it was considered by Bloomfield as 'one of the greatest monuments of human intelligence'. The recognition that phonetic analysis so advanced in technique available through *Śikṣā* (instruction in recitation) and *Praatisaakhya* (phonetic treatise) should have been evolved at so early a date inspires in W. S. Allan 'a salutary scientific humility'. Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya* has been recognized by scholars as one of the most explanatory grammars that stands supreme amongst the supporting pillars of *Aṣṭadhyāyī* and which for the first time included in itself all the rules of *Nyaaya* (logic). In Bhartrihari we find in the best way the philosophy of language and linguistic philosophy intertwined in their reciprocal illumination. Similarly, we find in *Tolkaappiyam*, the earliest extant grammatical work belonging to Tamil tradition, all the three aspects of language – phonology, grammar and poetics covered under a single composite frame of a linguistic treatise.

The philological hermeneutic tradition to study and preserve the sacred Vedic hymns motivated Indian scholars to develop six components of vedic study (*vedaanga*); viz. *vyaakaraṇa* (grammar), *nirukta* (etymology), *śikṣā* (phonetics), *chandas* (metrics), *kalpa* (geometry and sculpture) and *jyotish* (astronomy and astrology). It is to be emphasized that though *vyaakaraṇa* is a *vedaanga*, it is not restricted to any specific Veda. Secondly, the grammar was developed as an independent and complete *śāstra* (discipline) for studying language scientifically. (Panini's grammar is not the grammatical treatise meant only to study the language of the Vedic hymns). Thirdly, as pointed out by Helaaraaja, *vyaakarana* as a *śāstra* belongs to all the disciplines.

Indian grammarians of the north and south developed a composite view of language and linguistics. *Aṣṭadhyāyī* and *Tolkaappiyam* equally attest that they had in their possession developed tools of analysis and description of languages. They were quite conscious that their field of enquiry involves simultaneously questions related to object, language and metalanguage on the one hand and language of common parlance and poetic and rhetorical

expressions on the other hand. The concept of grammar was thus developed in close interaction with logic as well as poetics.

There is no denying the fact that when the Western world came in contact with India, we had a well-developed science of language. A close scholarly contact with India and its scholarly heritage did two distinct things - recognition of the existence of Indo-European family and the emergence of the modern comparative philology. With the introduction of Sanskrit as a serious object of study, Sir William Jones could find in 1786 the possible connections between Sanskrit and languages of Europe. Acquaintance with Sanskrit also gave the Western scholars an opportunity to get the first hand knowledge of our Indian Grammatical Tradition which made it possible for them to develop the field of comparative philology into a more exact and more scientific one. Lyons is thus right in proclaiming: "There are many aspects of nineteenth-century linguistics which are clearly derived from the practice and theory of the Indian grammarians". Even the modern linguistics of the twentieth century found inspiration from our rich tradition of linguistic enquiry. According to Emeneau, "the linguistics of the India of more than two millenia ago that was the direct germinal origin of the linguistics of the Western world of today".

I have mentioned India's past contribution to the linguistic scholarship only to emphasize the point that *linguistics in India is both traditional and a modern discipline.*

III

It was in the form of the philological section of the first Oriental Conference held in the year 1919 at Poona that for the first time scholars engaged in the studies in Indian linguistics organized their meeting. However, it was in the year 1928 that the Linguistics Society of India was founded at the Fifth Oriental Conference held at Lahore. It was decided in its first inaugural meeting that cyclostyled *Bulletins* containing discussions on different linguistic problems of India be brought out. The *Bulletins* got replaced by a printed journal called *Indian Linguistics* in the year 1931.

The practice of holding the annual meeting of the Society along with the Orientalist meet continued till 1954 - the year in which the Society was registered as a public body. The first separate meeting of the Society was organised along with the Winter school of linguistics held at Deccan College, Poona. It was felt later that

a much more wider meaning in nature and scope be given to such annual meetings. It was in this context that the First two-day Conference of linguists was held under the auspices of the Society at Deccan College on 18th November 1970. From this year onward, the Society has by now successfully organized more than a dozen Conferences either by itself or jointly with some University or institution.

As you all are aware, the Dravidian Linguistics Association of India, came into existence on 13th day of August, 1971 through the registration under the Travancore-Cochin Literary, Scientific and Charitable Societies Registration Act XII of 1955. Its primary aim is to promote in all possible ways research and publications in all aspects of Dravidian Linguistic Studies and allied fields with the active participation of international scholars interested in such studies. It is really heartening to see that both LSI (Linguistic Society of India) and DLA (Dravidian Linguistics Association) are supplementing their research activities to the benefit of each other and are working in close harmony. Both these Societies bring out their journals - IL (Indian Linguistics) and IJDL (International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics) and both organize annual conferences, in which participants from various parts of India and abroad present papers on specified areas of linguistics.

A cursory look at the development of linguistics on the Indian scene reveals that this chequered history of organizing Conferences, on Indian languages and linguistics reflects the changing orientation of our interest in the field of linguistic studies. In this context, following facts can thus be taken into account :

(1) As Modern Linguistics in the West started as a sub-branch of Anthropology, it gave direction for studying modern languages and emphasized its spoken aspect. Contrary to this, linguistics in India started as a handmaid of Oriental studies with strong philological tradition. In fact, modern comparative philology dates from the introduction of classical languages as a serious object of study, and from the consequent recognition of the existence of an IE family of languages by Sir William Jones in 1786. It was not surprising that later speculations about the possible linkages between Sanskrit and languages of Europe motivated scholars like Bopp, Grimm, Schleischer, Whitney, Brugmann, Delbruch, Meillet etc. to concentrate their attention on the languages and philosophies of ancient India.

(2) In the first-half of the 19th century, attention was also drawn towards the study of modern Indian languages. Scholars like William Karey, Freidrich Maxmuller, Brian Hodgson worked for Dravidian, Austric and Sino-Tibetan families of languages respectively. In the second half of this century works of Robert Caldwell, John Beams, Rudolf Hoernle on comparative grammars of Dravidian languages, Modern Aryan languages and Gaudian languages respectively became worthy of our notice. Later on those who contributed to Indian linguistic studies were Jules Bloch, T. Graham Bailey, R. L. Turner and a few others. This initial phase of our linguistic studies is marked for its historical and comparative orientation. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that the dead grip of the past did not deter scholars like Caldwell and Beams from writing monumental works on Dravidian and Indo-Aryan Comparative Grammars which were much ahead of their times.

We find during this phase also Wilson Philological Lectureship founded at the University of Bombay in the year as far back as 1877. It was inaugurated by the doyen of philological science - Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, then professor of Sanskrit at the Deccan College, Poona. Dr. Bhandarkar's classical lecture not only brought to light the achievements of our Indian tradition but inspired young enthusiasts to look into various linguistic problems of our classical as well as modern languages in a linguistically scientific perspective.

(3) During the early period of 20th century, many Indian scholars took advantage of the scholarship facilities created by the Government of India for higher studies in Europe. Amongst the few who took interest in the philological studies and worthy of our notice are: Drs. T. K. Ladu, P. D. Gune, V. K. Joshi, P. L. Vaidya (from Poona), Siddheshwar Verma, Banarasi Das Jain (Punjab), S. K. Chatterji (Calcutta), Sayed Mohiuddin Qadri Zor, Babu Ram Saxena and Dharendra Verma (Uttar Pradesh). These scholars either tried to apply the methods of Comparative Philology, as accepted by the then masters of the science in working out the history of their languages or made an attempt to highlight the achievements of Indian Grammarians of the past in terms and concepts then prevalent in the field.

(4) The next phase of Indian Linguistics shines for its three major events - a) publication of S.K. Chatterji's monumental ODBL (1926), b) completion of Grierson's magnum opus Linguistic Survey of India (LSI, 1928) and c) the formation of Linguistic Society of India (L. Soc. I, 1928). This period realized the importance of

studying vernaculars of India in their own right. Dr. Taraporewala—first president of the Society and also the holder of the then only chair of Comparative philology, voiced the new mood and temper of the time. While inaugurating the L. Soc. I. he said:

“But the true modern India will never be known to us till the light in the west has been reflected back on the hopes, the fears, beliefs, of the three hundred and twenty millions who inhabit it at the present day. For this, an accurate knowledge of the vernaculars is necessary, a knowledge not only of the colloquial languages, but also, when they exist, of the literatures too commonly decried as worthless, but which one who has studied them and loved them can confidently affirm to be no mean possession of no mean land”.

One finds thus the period between 1928 and 1954 marked by the effort of scholars well acquainted with classical tradition on one hand and modern trends in linguistics on the other to evolve methods in writing grammars of Indian vernaculars independent of the model of Sanskrit and Panini. Scholars of this period like L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar, P. C. Bagchi, G. V. Ramamurti, K. Goda Varma, T. N. Sreekanthaiya etc. emphasized this fundamental idea of language that all grammar is to be built up. The entire period echoed in action what Taraporewala said in the beginning of this phase of development: ‘Panini has tried to do so with eminent success but we cannot go back to his work in the sense of adopting his terminology wholesale’. Scholars of this period accepted Panini as a genius who investigated for the first time Sanskrit language as such, but whatever was good enough for Sanskrit and for Panini, according to them, ‘can surely not be sufficient, nor even accurate, to describe the modern Indian languages.’

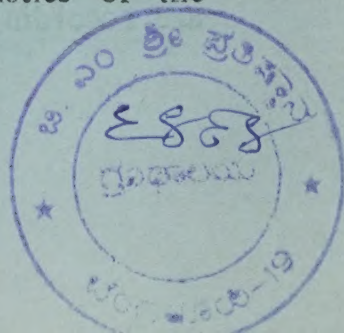
(5) From the year 1954 onwards we find L. Soc. I. getting associated with the Deccan College in conducting summer schools and winter seminars. In fact, it was the concerted effort of Dr. S. M. Katre – the then Director of the Deccan College, Poona which brought the new impetus to the linguistic studies in India by organising Rockefeller Foundation aided schools. Later the society co-sponsored these schools of linguistics at the various Universities in the country with the financial assistance provided by the University Grants Commission (UGC). These Summer Schools not only made linguistics acceptable to us as an autonomous and scientific discipline but gave it a sound footing in India in the form of modern linguistics, as we now understand it.

(6) In the field of Dravidian Linguistics in the twentieth century we find three distinct generation of scholars. The first phase is represented by scholars such as K. V. Subbayya, C. P. Venkatarama Aiyar, S. Anavaratanayakam Pillai, K. Narasimhacharya, K. Amrita Row and others. The second phase is represented by scholars like K. Ramakrishnayya, L. V. Ramaswamy Ayyar, T. P. Meenakshisundaram Pillai etc. And the third phase is represented by scholars such as T. N. Sreekanthaiya, K. Goda Varma, V. I. Subramoniam, Bh. Krishnamurthy, A. Chandrasekhar, S. Agesthialingam, P S Subrahmanyam, M. M. Bhat etc. In addition, significant contributions have been made to Dravidian linguistics by eminent foreign scholars such as M. B. Emeneau, T. Burrow, K. Zvelebil, M. S. Andronov, S. A. Tyler, H. S. Schiffman etc.

IV

Inspite of the fact that linguistics as a discipline is especially associated with India since its very known history, it is relatively a recent discipline at the University level of our education. The University of Calcutta has been holding postgraduate classes in linguistics since 1920 and undergraduate classes since 1926, but this can be taken as a sole instance. As the UGC Status Report on Linguistics in Indian Universities reveals almost all full-fledged departments of linguistics in Indian Universities started during the fifties and sixties. In its short period of three decades it has matured itself to gain its autonomous existence. It is worth noting that when First All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists was organized in the year 1971, there were 16 Universities where linguistics was taught as a major discipline, 7 Universities where it was taught as an allied subject and 3 institutions where it was taught as a minor field.

Now the existence of linguistics is being felt by scholars working in other allied fields and its relevance is being recognized by all those who are associated with school and University level education. All this is satisfying to all of us engaged in teaching linguistics; however, these trends have made linguists also conscious of their onerous task of making their discipline integrated and a coherent 'whole'. It should be pointed out that linguistics gained its current status amid acrimonious debate among philosophers, psychologists, anthropologists, logicians and linguists on many issues crucial to the structure and function of language. I would like to point out a few characteristic features of Indian linguistics of the contemporary period.



(1) Making the Teaching of Linguistics up-to-date and Model Oriented

Linguistics is certainly the most advanced of the social sciences. It is also the fastest-developing field of enquiry. We also know how linguistic theory of our time is marked by a stunning variety of theories and a disparity of clashing doctrines. The problem of teaching of 'modern' linguistics is manifold-problems related to the orientation, selection of linguistic models, drawing a line between 'modern' and 'contemporary' linguistics, distinguishing between standardized text and the thoughts in making or trend-setter papers published in journals. At the time when linguistics is fraught with competing theories and is replete with terminological confusion, it became necessary for teachers to be abreast of the knowledge of recent developments in the field. Secondly, it also made various departments model-oriented in teaching linguistics. Thus, while some Universities chose to remain philology-oriented, some became a strong-hold of structural linguistics and some of the Transformational Generative model.

Linguist-teachers have now become conscious of their constantly developing discipline. For example, Noam Chomsky's revolutionary views on the nature and scope of language and linguistics have been the subject of acrimonious debate since the publication of *Syntactic Structures* (1957). Chomsky's theory has been constantly developing in the face of criticism coming from within and from without the field of linguistics. One can see his theory in a historical perspective with four successive periods of the development of his notion about the form and function of grammar: (1) the LSLT period (Chomsky (1955), (2) the Aspect period (Chomsky 1965), (3) the Condition period (Chomsky 1977) and (4) the Government Binding period (1981). A close scrutiny of the syllabi and teaching schedules of different Universities reveals that a very few of them extend their teaching even up to Condition period. There are departments which have even reduced the teaching of the model to pre-Aspect period. One can understand the critical evaluation of a model or even rejection of it, but reducing of a model to its anti-evolutionary phase destroys the very spirit of scholarship.

(2) Development of Linguistic Theory Real to Our Indian Reality

Reflexively, science demands that from time-to-time we test our fundamental assumptions. In this context, linguistic theories are, according to Popper, nets cast to catch what we call 'the world'

to rationalize, to explain and to master it. I would like to emphasize here that our linguistic world is basically multilingual and pluricultural; our verbal repertoire is characterized by continuous chain of hierarchically organized codes and our verbal behaviour is full of code-mixing and code-switching. Similarly, our languages show co-existence of socio-culturally conditioned sub-systems which operate partly in harmony and partly in conflict. P. B. Pandit, M. Shanmugam Pillai, D. P. Pattanayak, R. N. Srivastava, E. Annamalai etc. have worked extensively to reveal the functional nature of the dynamics of verbal manifestations true to the intrinsic characteristics of a pluralistic society. They have refuted the claims made in the West that linguistic homogeneity is related to many more desirable characteristics of polities than linguistic heterogeneity; bilingualism is a source of intellectual impoverishment and cripples the creative abilities of human mind; and multilingualism is an obstacle *per se* in the linguistic communication within a speech community. Bilingualism may be a freakish and an anomalous instance of social situation for the scholars in the West, but for many speech communities of Asia and Africa (and even for many Western societies) it is rather a natural state of language behaviour involved in social group interaction. Indian scholars have convincingly shown that bilingualism is the earliest condition of large numbers of people and is the present need of many contemporary societies. While developing their linguistic theories, Indian scholars in recent past have successfully tried to weave their own nets in order to catch their own fish.

We must however admit that these researches are merely like tips of the iceberg. We have yet to go a long way to explore the deep-seated linguistic reality of India. We must understand that India as a region provides an exemplary instance of linguistic complexity. The fusion and diffusion of cultural and linguistic traits among speakers of Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman families has led to what Chatterji has called the birth of the *Indian Man* and Emeneau, has described the genesis of India as a *Linguistic Area*. We find clear evidence of Indo-Aryanization of Dravidian languages and also Dravidianization of Indo-Aryan languages. We have lived in harmony even with split ethnicity. No wonder that the Khand tribes employ five Dravidian languages—Kui, Kuvi Pengo, Maṇḍa etc. and languages like Saurashtri. This came into existence through long contact situation between languages belonging to different language families (i.e. Indo-Aryan and Dravidian).

We are borrowing linguistic and socio-linguistic theories wholesale from abroad. Our empirical studies have clearly shown

that the significance of some of the variables proposed in these theories have to be interpreted differently for societies which are basically pluricultural and multi-ethnic. There is a logic in building our own linguistic theory. There is a movement to show that linguistics as a science ought to adopt the perspective and methods of the culture-science which is different from those of the natural science. It is to be observed that in natural science objects of investigation exist independently of our conceptions about them. For example, 'gravity' or 'atom' as constructs gain their properties through the attributes of their theories. Contrary to this, objects of culture-science are concept-dependent. It is for this reason that we talk about the psychological reality of phonemes, morphemes of a given language. And what about our kinship terms? Are they not realizations of our socio-cultural structuration of reality? It follows from the above that if objects of linguistic enquiry are concept-dependent objects, and if concepts are culture specific, we should better develop a science which helps us in understanding the phenomena, rather than giving any universal explanatory theory about them. This is precisely what hermeneutics does. Our linguistic theory must show the interaction between nature and nurture, and linguistic constructs and linguistic reality.

(3) Making Linguistics a Socially Meaningful Activity

All those who are concerned with translation, stylistics, lexicography, literacy campaign, development of writing system, spelling reforms, language policy, simulated speech, computer techniques and the like find themselves in difficulty at achieving their ends without the help of linguistics. It is not merely for the purpose of giving employment that linguistics department has to offer courses related to these fields of application. The fact that language enjoys a privileged position in the pattern of human behaviour and linguistics plays a cardinal role in the different sciences of man, demands that apart from their academic pursuits, linguists should take on their shoulder their professional and social responsibility. With linguistics responding favourably to the multi-faceted contributions to the study related to language, linguistics has become more global, not only in its orientation but also in its effects and application. Since the range of research activity concerning language is extraordinarily large, practical applications of its theories are also many and varied. We find different departments of linguistics in India showing interest in at least one area of applied linguistics. The result is that *translation* is taught as a course in 5 Universities,

lexicography in 4 Universities, *stylistics* in 3 Universities, and *speech pathology* in 1 University.

It is unfortunate that linguists engaged in theoretical speculations and confined to the work of language descriptions find these applied fields of linguistics as marginal and even non-professional. In the year 1956, Archibald Hill read his paper entitled 'who Needs Linguistics' at the VII Annual Round Table Meeting, where he pointed out mainly three such sections which are in need of linguistic knowledge: (i) native or foreign language teachers: (ii) literary scholars and (iii) those concerned with problems of mental disorders. As pointed out above, there are now many other application areas, but what is more important in this context is what Hill concluded his paper with: It is the linguist who needs linguistics, it is we who have the task of making linguistics sufficiently adult and its results sufficiently available so that all people of goodwill who work within the fields of language art and language usage can realize that there are techniques and results which are available to them.

It is also unfortunate that while talking about their academic activities, linguists often remain silent about their professional and social responsibilities. There are very few linguists who have earnestly responded to this need. Those who have heard or read the Presidential Address delivered by Bolinger to the LSA at its annual meeting on December 28, 1972 will recall how he showed that a linguist till very recently had been more or less a useful sideliners but not a social critic. He stressed that apart from the fact that subject and verbs agree, linguists should also deal with the question whether statements and facts agree. Once we move in this direction, the 'big lie' becomes proper object of study for linguists, and a necessary one specially when lying is cultivated by the Government, politicians, journalists, writers and even by linguists as an art. As members of society, we have an obligation to contribute our knowledge and skill to expose this act of lying. Viewed from this perspective, applied linguistics becomes a socially meaningful academic activity, since here linguists are called to utilize their knowledge and skill to reveal the implicit assumptions made by speakers for the benefit of common users of the language.

(4) Revival of Interest in the Heritage of our Linguistic Tradition

Soon after the generation of philologists-cum-linguists had gone from the scenes of Indian Linguistics, our ancient grammars, as pointed out by Meenakshisundaram, were characterised as sacredly prescriptive documents and were viewed as though they were the

Indian Penal Code, with our language and linguistic usages laying down rules for all times. Indian scholars trained in modern linguistics believed till recently that the traditional Indian grammarians should be studied by philologists and not by linguists. Now linguists realize that not only is ancient Indian linguistic tradition rich, varied and stimulating, but also as Stall points out, recent concepts of modern linguistics such as performatives, speech acts and pragmatics all find their place in Indian tradition.

In the wake of this revival in the interest of Indian tradition by the West, Indian scholars too have started asserting that Panini's grammar of Sanskrit is the most 'complete' and 'systematic' grammar and hence be studied by linguists as an object of enquiry and not merely as a monument produced by a genius of the past. Similarly Tolkaappiyam, the earliest extant Tamil grammar is to be viewed as having all the traits of modern linguistic theories.

There is a distinct change in the approach of earlier and modern scholars working with our traditional grammars. For example, when P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri looked at Tolkaappiyam, he studied it along with commentators on the Tolkaappiyam, as is evident by his Preface to his edited work in his famous book: *History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil* (1934). Contrary to this, modern scholars have approached this work applying the generative phonology model (Balasubramaniyam 1972), transformation-generative model (Agasthalingam 1969), (Shanmugam 1972) or case-grammar model (Balasubramaniyam 1978).

A more viable and stimulating line of research demands that we examine our ancient grammatical treatises as having their own philosophy, perspective and methods and methodology of linguistic analysis. These monumental works are no less compact, precise and profound than any linguistically oriented grammar of modern period. We have to explore their basic assumptions of language and linguistic reality, their patterns of reasoning, their form and format of analysis and description of verbal facts etc., which are bound to be different from those of the Western world. Attempts in this direction have been made to show that the very foundation of Indian grammar is different from the general philosophical position called *Rationalism* by generative grammarians, as shown by some scholars.

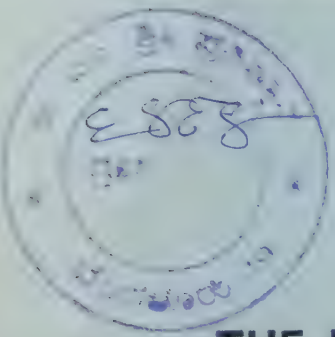
It is unfortunate that most of our linguistic departments are either neglecting the teaching of Indian Grammatical Tradition to

our young students or providing a wrong perspective to the rich tradition of our linguistic enquiry of the past.

(5) Intellectualization of the Discipline : Arguments and Counter-Arguments

Linguistic theories have been constantly developing with acrimonious debate amongst its practitioners. Indian scholars have shown in this context their awareness of the crucial issues involved therein. It is satisfying for all those associated with DLA that its journal - IJDL has provided an effective platform for many thought provoking discussions. I still recall the day when Professor V. I. Subramoniam asked me whether my paper entitled: *Some Unsolved Problems in Generative Phonology* (IJDL. 1972) can be taken up for the discussion. The paper invoked response from scholars of India and abroad in which V. A. Fromkin, John J. Ohala, E. Fudge, S. G. Rudin, V. Miltner, Householder, C. J. Daswani etc. participated. The discussion gave me enough stimulation for further probe in many related problems of phonology. Similarly, a paper by D. N. S. Bhat (1981) on 'Autonomy in Language' received critical response from V. I. Subramoniam, E. Annamalai, Paramasivam, J. Vattanky, R. Kothandaraman and H. S. Ananthanarayana. The question of Dravidian origins has attracted the attention of many scholars. Upadhyay has attempted to relate it to 'Negro-African', Tyler to 'Uralic' and Shiba to 'Japanese'. In a recently published paper in IJDL, Franklin C. Southworth explored the possibility of a relationship with Indo-European, more specifically between English and Tamil, employing the same type of lexical evidence as that used by Tyler, Upadhyay and Shiba. An interesting debate took place between the author and D. N. S. Bhat, G. Von Stammerling, Eric Rhedin in different issues of the journal.

At the end I would like to express once again my thanks to you all for giving me an opportunity to share some of my thoughts on the Indian Linguistic scene with you. We all have to make the Linguistic scene of India a dynamic setting for promoting an integrated viewpoint of Linguistics with a sense of identity of our own, with academic, professional and a social responsibility.



THE HISTORY AND PROBLEMS OF THE DRAVIDIAN DIASPORA*

Rodney F. Moag
University of Texas

1. Introduction. This paper may well represent the first attempt to describe what has happened to those Dravidians who have settled outside their South Asian homeland. At least three book-length works have appeared chronicling the history and/or current situation of Indians as a whole - Kondapi (1951), Schwartz (1967), and Tinker (1977), as well as book-length treatments of Indians in a given country such as: Mayer (1956) for Fiji, Benedict (1961) for Mauritius and Arasaratnam (1970) for Malaysia, all of which have contained some information on one or more groups of Dravidians. In addition, there have been occasional articles in scholarly journals, particularly in the anthropological and other social science literatures on some aspect of life among overseas Indians. The language oriented conferences, in particular those for Tamil have contained reports on the situation of their language in various overseas locations. Many of these will be cited in the pages which follow.

A notable contribution was made by Y. S. Thaninayagam's brief survey of the situation of Tamils overseas for the Third Conference on Tamil Studies in 1970. Whereas the Tamils are by far the largest group, other Dravidian groups are represented overseas also, and their history does not in all cases parallel that of the Tamil. This paper will seek to present the story of the Dravidians as a whole, as well as updating and fleshing in information about the Tamil overseas already in print. Attention will also be given to the trends which these data may suggest.

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1.1. The Dravidian Diaspora. The Dravidian diaspora is here defined as those areas outside South Asia where Dravidians have settled in sufficient numbers to constitute a significant percentage of the national population, and to play a meaningful role in the national life of the countries of which they are now citizens. This, by definition, excludes Dravidians who have settled in other parts of South Asia including industrial workers in Bombay government workers in New Delhi, as well as the Malayali community of Madras, the Tamil communities of Hyderabad and Bangalore, the Telugus in the Andaman Islands and others. Most notable of these groups are the Tamils of Sri Lanka whose special situation in terms of the make-up of their community, the longevity of settlement for the majority of them, as well as their proximity to the Dravidian homeland and their inclusion within the cultural area of South Asia all make them worthy of separate study.

By dealing with settlers, the paper will per force exclude what may be called Dravidian sojourners, i.e. those who establish residence outside South Asia for a number of months, or more often years, for purposes of employment of one or more family members, but who retain citizenship in a South Asian country and who return to their home country after the completion of specific work assignments, or upon retirement from the work force. The greatest number of these have gone to the Gulf States to pursue occupations ranging from common labourer to highly skilled professions such as engineering, medical caretaker, or government clerk or administrator. Numbers of these latter are also found in the less developed so-called third world countries. Dravidians form a subgroup of the sojourners from South Asia, and, it would appear, not a dominant one, though they may be in the majority in certain of the Gulf states. The topic of Dravidian and other South Asian sojourners is one which cries out for detailed study, but this lies beyond the scope of the present paper.

Also lying outside the purview of this paper are those Dravidians resident in the largely Monocultural nations of North America and Western Europe. Some are settlers in these countries, while others are mere sojourners for purposes of study or work. Whatever their purpose or status, the Indians living in the U. S., Canada, West Germany, the U. K. and other places do not play a significant role in the national life or politics of these nations, though this is beginning to change in Great Britain. There has been some scholarly inquiry into the situation of South Asians in these

countries, as those by Helwig and M. K. Verma, but I am aware of none which focuses specifically on the Dravidians.

2. Causes and Means of Dravidian Migration. Up until the last century, Dravidian migration had been minimal. Though a few went to the Malay peninsula as traders as early as the first century A. D. (Arasaratnam 1970), and South Indian priests went to Bali and other parts of Indonesia (Tinker 1970), no permanent settlements of Dravidians resulted. A slave trade conducted by the French from their territories in South India accounted for a certain amount of out-migration through the first half of the 19th century (Thaninayagam 1970), but substantial Dravidian migration did not begin until economic, political, and social conditions elsewhere made it expedient to recruit Dravidians and those from other parts of India as labourers in the farflung sugar and other plantations in the British possessions in the tropics.

Table 1 presents data on eight countries where East Indian communities comprise a statistically significant part of the national society, including the number of Dravidian descendants and their percentage in the overall Indian community. It must be remembered that most who went under the indenture system or other contract labour scheme were, both in their own mind and in those of their overlords, mere sojourners who would return home upon the discharge of their contractual obligation. Many did, in fact, return, but others elected to remain in the new country despite official opposition in many cases, and despite the harsh conditions of life and work in the kuli lines during indenture because of the promise of a better life than they could enjoy in India (Tinker 1977). Kloss (1961) suggests, too, that they may have faced the prospect of retribution for the inevitable breaking of caste taboos. A 19th century Crown report on the problems of British colonial administration explained the urge to settle in their host lands by characterizing Indians as "...a vast population, skillful, industrious, and frugal, yet chronically on the limits of starvation, exposed to the constant outbreak of cholera and to frequent famines, without prospects of ever bettering their condition or raising themselves above a daily struggle for existence", stating that in his new home the immigrant had "...found a place free from cholera and famine, of a warm and equitable climate. Here his natural industry, if rightly applied, makes its possessor in a few years the owner of a large portion" (Bruce Report, 1872: 350 and 352). This report also referred to the relative fertility of the soil and the ease with which good yields

could be obtained in contrast to the barren over-cultivated plots of much of India.

Even though opportunities in these lands were attractive to a fair number of Dravidian settlers, their situation was vastly different from that of the early European settlers to the New World who found land to be a cheap and readily available resource, confronted an indigenous population which was easily subjugated or, in some cases annihilated, and were thereby able to found nations such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the U. S. where their language and culture not only supreme, but the unchallenged model for subsequent immigrants. The Indians, coming as contract labourers into an already established economic order, found most resources already spoken for by an entrenched ruling class which sought only to exploit them and then send them home, and found their culture an object of contempt by these overlords who often sought to curtail it through the conditions imposed on the kulis.

2.1. *The Indenture System.* All of the countries in Table 1 are former colonies of Britain, save for Dutch-held Surinam which had no Dravidian settlers (see 4.2 below). Though there are examples of cheap labour being imported under contract to work in independent nations during the same period—Chinese and Irish workers imported to work on the railroads in the U. S. and Carribean blacks brought to dig the canal and to build railroads in Panama for example—the importing of Indian labour was both politically and economically a colonial phenomenon. Sir Charles Bruce connected it directly with the "...struggle for the control of the tropics," stating that if a way had not been found to keep the plantations under cultivation when the Africans were unwilling to work them after the abolition of slavery by Queen Victoria in 1833, that Mauritius would surely have reverted to France, and that the islands of the Carribean would have similarly come under the control of the United States. Economically, it consisted of a redistribution of resources within the Empire, moving labourers from the Indian villages where they were in surplus, and were not essential for the working of the small family agricultural plots, to those colonies where there were plantations where a large labour force was critical to their economic viability.

In typical colonial fashion, however, the indenture system was not devised or designed to benefit the subjugated nation from which the resource (if this case labour) was taken. Tinker (1977) makes the point that unlike Italy and Ireland whose well being

absolutely depended on the escape valve of emigration, the export of labour served no such function of easing demographic pressures and forestalling revolution in India, observing that the numbers are simply too small. Strikingly, however, for certain parts of South India, the opposite is true, for the same author remarks about labour migrations in the 1920s and 1930s, "...emigration had become a necessity to the impoverished and depressed Tamil Nadu" (Tinker 1977: 8).

The indenture system is described in detail in Tinker (1974) as well as in Kondapi (1951). An excellent job of balancing official facts and statements with human details and first-hand accounts of indenture in Mauritius is found in Sinh (1980). This paper can only present a brief sample of their data in order to highlight the conditions which the Dravidian migrants confronted while they contemplated the option of becoming settlers.

The normal term of indenture was five years, though it was only three in Malaysia, later reduced to 600 days (Subbiah 1966). Labourers were recruited by agents who were registered by the Government of India, and received a signed contract containing the terms of employment (Sinh 1980). In exchange for their labour, the employer provided transportation, housing and medical services, food, and a minimal daily wage which was fixed for the period (Kondapi 1951). Workers were housed in "lines" two and three to a room. These were called "laaym" by Tamil workers in Malaysia, sometimes "raaym", especially by the women (Subbiah 1966). These were often former slave quarters in Mauritius (Benedict 1967) and probably in the Caribbean also, though not in Fiji or Malaysia neither of which had embraced the institution. A British Commission in 1871 suggested that slavery denied most civil rights to its victims while the indenture system preserved them (Tinker 1977: 8), but an examination of the conditions of the indentured labourers casts doubt on the distinction. In fact, Tinker subtitles his 1974 volume on indenture "...a new form of slavery". Deceit was a frequent practice during recruitment, and even kidnapping was not uncommon.

In the lines, both social and work conditions were arduous at best. One thing which characterized indenture was the disproportion between the sexes. One woman was often expected to serve three men, and this led to both rampant venereal disease according to Tinker (1977) as well as frequent squabbles between men over women. Ranvir Sinh (1980) sets down many further indignities borne by the Indian migrants of Mauritius. Indentured labourers

there were issued numbered registration cards containing their photo which they were required to carry at all times. Replacement of this card, if lost, involved fees totaling two months wages, and often a journey of several days away from the plantation. Workers could not travel on Sunday without a written note from their employer, and arrest for vagrancy was a favorite means of the police of harassing Indian migrants. In 1868, 8958 were locked up at the Vagrancy Depot. An employer could dock his workers two days' pay for each day of absence, and it was apparently a frequent practice to encourage workers to leave the plantations during slack times, thus enabling the owner to save the cost of food and assess fines as well (Beaton, cited in Sinh 1980). Beating was a common form of punishment and there were cases of workers dying of a ruptured spleen as a result. Post mortum returns for one district in a seven year period showed 114 migrants killed while working on machinery, and 176 cases of death by violence.

It is not surprising that labourers sometimes found these conditions unbearable. Suicide rates were 640 per million in Natal as against 46 per million in Madras (Tinker 1974: 201). Fiji showed 966 per million in 1912 as opposed to the all-India average of 63 (Kondapi 1951: 27). It should be remembered that during that time many indenturees in Fiji were from South India. According to informants, the common method was hanging, and the rates were reportedly higher among South Indians. Sinh reports that the common method in Mauritius was to place one's head on the rails in the path of a train. Not all Indians acquiesced to the harsh treatment, however. Sinh also cites testimony by two labourers named Balakrishna and Mooneswamy against a particularly cruel employer.

2.2. Other Systems of Contract Labour. Two additional systems for labour migration were common, and these are of particular interest since they brought many hundreds of thousands of Dravidians to Malaysia and Burma, and one of the names comes from Tamil. The "kangany" system (sometimes rendered kangani) comes from a word which Subbiah (1966) says is used in India only in the Bible to mean bishop. The meaning in Malaysian Tamil is "headman". Under the kangany system, a headman from a Malayan tea or rubber estate would return home to recruit fresh labourers from Tamil Nadu. His recruits were contracted to him rather than to the employer as in indenture, and pledged to stay on the estate under his orders for a period of three years. The relative proximity of Malaya to India allowed for a far higher volume of

traffic back and forth than for the more remote countries. Some 70 thousand labourers were repatriated from Malaya in the last five months of 1930 alone (Kondapi 1951:232) in contrast with 79 thousand plus from South Africa between 1895 and 1939, and 24, 665 returned from Fiji in the period 1884-1923. Some additional repatriation figures appear in Tinker (1974:380), but unfortunately no complete set of comparative figures has been compiled and, even more regrettable, no figures contrasting Dravidians with other Indian migrants have been assembled. Figures for labour migration to Malaya should be almost purely Dravidian, however, as 99.1% of Indian labourers there were South Indians (Arasaratnam 1970).

2.3. Sources of Dravidian Migration. The earliest Dravidian migrations to areas outside South Asia resulting in permanent settlement and the preservation of Indian ethnicity took place in the early 19th century at the hands of the French, taking the form of the export of slaves to Mauritius, Reunion, and the French Antilles. Recruitment for this took place in the French possessions of South India and in the adjoining British districts (Thaninayagam 1970). Recruitment of South Indians under the indenture system began in 1838 for Malaya. Thaninayagam lists five districts of Madras as the principal donors of migrants to Malaya, and subsequently to Trinidad beginning in 1845, and to Fiji from 1903. According to Tinker (1977) Trichinopali District was a major source of labour for Malaya as well as for Ceylon till its export was stopped to these countries in 1938 and 1940 respectively.

There are mentions of Telugus in Fiji, Malayasia, Mauritius, and Trinidad (references cited below) but no documentation is available as to their districts of origin. Similarly, there is no information on the main districts of origin of the active Malayali community in Singapore. The 1956 census of Fiji showed 148 Malayalam-speaking households. This author has done interviews of two Malayalam speakers there, but no organized data is available on the districts of origin of the Malayalis settled in Fiji, or in any other part of the Dravidian diaspora.

3. The Transition from Migrant to Settler. Here the major problems faced by Dravidians who sought to remain in the various receiving countries will be sketched. Specific country profiles appear in the following section.

3.1. Life after Indenture. Life was not easy for those who survived the vicissitudes of life in the Kuli lines and elected to stay on as ostensibly free men. There were 15 thousand indentured

labourers in Fiji in 1912, and 35 thousand freed. The suicide rate, among these freed labourers, though much lower than that of their indentured brothers, was still 147 per million, nearly 2.3 times that for the homeland (Kondapi 1951: 242). This author has written about the relative insecurity of the Indian community there owing to the fact that there was little land available for purchase and they had, therefore, to make their living as tenant farmers renting their agricultural plots from Fijian villagers who were forbidden by law from selling their land (Moag 1979).

Parcels of land were available to Indians in South Africa upon renunciation of their passage home. Despite this, settlers there faced the most organized and degrading set of obstacles. From 1905, the Government of the Transval sought to prevent further Indian settlement through the use of language tests—requiring that an immigrant be able to complete and sign a form in a European language — and with the imposition of property requirements and a series of permits, often requiring high fees. They used these and other mechanisms to bar the return of domiciled Indians who had temporarily left the Transval for whatever reason. In neighboring Natal, an act of 1891 prevented the granting of further parcels of land in lieu of passage home. The Natal government sought to require Indians to return home at the expiration of their indenture, but the Government of India opposed this, and it was never implemented. The Natal authorities then mandated a period of twelve months within which Indians might claim their passage home. In 1903, a law was passed governing the children born to Indians in the colony. Upon attaining majority (16 years for boys and a mere 13 years for girls) they must either go to India, sign up as an indentured labourer, or take out a pass or license on a year by year basis to remain in Natal. As an added control, in 1905 a law was passed requiring that no one employ an Indian unless he could first produce a certificate of registration. (The foregoing taken from Kondapi 1951: 22 ff). It seemed that wherever Indians sought to assume any role other than that of a temporary bonded servant, they were regarded as unwelcome competition, particularly by whites. A similar attitude on the part of whites in Mauritius is attested by Sinh. Such attitudes have their reflection in more recent times in the insistence of certain native populations that there be limitations on the degree of political power attainable by Indians (Economist, Dec. 26, 1987).

3.2. Patterns of Settlement. Where possible, Dravidians who remained after indenture or other labour tended to group himself

with his linguistic fellows. Kuper (1967) reports that out of four suburbs of Durbin, two were 100% Telugu speaking, one was Tamil speaking, and one Hindi speaking. Moag (1987) describes the formation of Tamil-speaking hamlets in post-indenture Fiji, and Mohan (1978) and others mention Tamil settlements in Trinidad. This was not true of all Dravidians, however. Kuper reports in the same paragraph that many areas in South Africa were inevitably mixed, and Mayer (1961: 145 ff) discusses South Indian families living in a predominantly North Indian settlement on the big island of Fiji.

The area of densest Dravidian settlement overseas is Malaysia. Subbiah (1966) declares that out of the 13 Malay states, Indians inhabit only the seven along the Western coast. It seems quite likely that certain areas of the major cities such as Kuala Lumpur and Panang, and of Singapore, would be largely Indian in character, but confirmation is still awaited. Information is also wanting on the location of primarily Dravidian settlements in Ouyana and Mauritius.

In Malaysia, patterns of Dravidian settlement have been largely conditioned by the locations where their labour was needed: rubber plantations in the four Southern states, and later, tin mines in Perakh (Subbiah 1966). The labourers on the estates appear to be exclusively Tamils, but other Dravidians are also there in other capacities. Data presented by Paauw (1977) shows both Malayalis and Ceylon Tamils as clerks and mid-level functionaries with top management handled by Europeans. The majority of Dravidian professionals in Malaysia are associated with the towns (Ginsberg and Roberts 1958).

4. The Dravidian Diaspora Today. "Except in Ceylon and Malaysia, the Tamil groups form a minority viz-a-viz the migrants of North Indian origin, and intermarriage and other intergroup activities occur in proportion to their numerical strength and to the degree of cultural conservatism". This quote by Thaninayagam (1970: 3) strangely fails to mention Singapore, though that city-state had been separated from Malaysia since 1965, though he does mention Singapore later in his paper in a discussion of factors influencing the retention of Tamil in various overseas communities. In all other respects, his statement is correct, not for the Tamils alone, but for all settlers of Dravidian origin. In a paper on the loss of Tamil in Fiji Moag (1987) presents a list of 19 factors each of which has been identified by one or more scholars as significant in the retention or loss of the mothertongue

in one or more minority communities throughout the World. In the following sections we shall examine, in so far as existing data permits, the factors impinging on the loss or maintenance of Tamil and the other South Indian tongues in the Dravidian Diaspora. Examined first will be those areas where Dravidians are in the majority; thereafter attention will turn to those countries where they comprise a minority within an overseas community dominated by North Indians. It must be remembered, of course, that in terms of the national societies within which they live, Dravidians are everywhere in the minority.

4.1. Dravidian Majority Communities. Dravidians form the preponderance of settlers in Malaysia, Singapore, and South Africa. We shall examine first the case of South Africa where Dravidian language and culture are seriously in attrition.

4.1.1. Dravidians in South Africa. The 887, 000 Indians of South Africa comprise some 3.3% of South Africa's national population (Europa Yearbook 1986). Of these, some 60% are of Tamil origin, with Telugus being the next most numerous group (Naid.intvw.). Since there were also a significant number of Hindi-speaking immigrants, and Gujaratis who came as passengers, mostly to follow business (Kuper, 1967), I have estimated the total Dravidian population to be some 80% of the overall population, hence the 709, 000 figure in Table I.

Tamil was very widely used in South Africa at an earlier point, but appears to be very close to extinction today. I am indebted to Mr. K. M. Naidu, Executive Officer of the University of Durbin-Westville, for much of what follows on the status of Tamil in his country. Unless otherwise noted, the data below is that supplied by him. Newspapers were published in Tamil through the 1940's. Thaninayagam quotes Sergeant (1962) who remarks that Tamil was very widely used in church work in Africa. Thaninayagam further speaks of "...Tamil journalism of a sporadic kind..." existing in the country in 1970, but this would seem not to be the case today.

More recent years have seen attempts to revive Tamil in South Africa. Earlier on, Tamil was taught through informal classes in homes and temples using the Arichuvadi. Later aid was granted for mounting formal instruction in after-hours classes in schools. In 1981, Naidu reported the existence of some 300 after hours Tamil language schools throughout the country with perhaps as many as 30 pupils per class, yielding a maximum of 9,000 students in such

classes In 1977, Tamil was introduced into state schools as a third language, yet by 1981 there were only 500 pupils in primary and secondary classes. The small number was attributed to the serious lack of qualified teachers. The first group of pupils were slated to take the Tamil matriculation exam the following year. This exam was to be set by the Indian Department of Education. Mr. Naidu was made responsible for developing the syllabus for classes 1 to 10. He said they were modifying the Tamil Nadu syllabus for local use.

The University of Durbin Westville has relatively new departments of Tamil and Telugu language as well as Hindi, Urdu, and Sanskrit. They had sought to appoint lecturers in all these subjects from India, but that nation's government reportedly would not allow them to come. None the less, the first group of Tamil majors was graduated in 1980. Mr. Naidu further reported that Tamil is taught through the medium of English,...."because most of the boys speak English at home." Naidu declares that Tamil has been kept alive through the recitation of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, and that Tamil mantras are still recited in temples. He, himself, conducts marriages in both Tamil and Telugu.

The true state of affairs for Tamil in his country is revealed by Mr. Naidu's own words at the Fifth World Tamil Conference in Madurai in 1981, "Tamil is on the decline in South Africa, and unless we get some help, the language is going to die..." Tinker (1977: 13-14) cites studies which showed that 70% of South African Indians cannot handle the language of their parents, despite the fact that the census data shows 85% as having Indian mothertongues. Experience has shown elsewhere—with Gailic in Ireland, Maori in New Zealand, and with Hawaiian—that when the language of one's heritage has to be learned as a foreign language, there is no real hope of its ever regaining the status of a living language within the community unless, of course, the community is in a situation as unique as that of Hebrew in Israel. Tinker (1977: 13) attributes the switch to English by South African Indians as due to "...the pressures of the white man's world." There is insufficient data to pinpoint all of the factors responsible, but it is clear that despite the dominance of the Tamils in the South African Indian community, their language is of little practical use. The South African Broadcasting Corporation uses English for the announcements in its Indian cultural programs (Europa Yearbook 1986) which are only aired on the weekends (Naidu, intvw.). I have no information concerning Tamil or other Indian language films in South Africa, or whether or not they are shown with English subtitles—another important index of language shift.

4.1.2. *Dravidians in Singapore.* Dravidians in Singapore number approximately 145,000, comprising some 91% of the Indian community (Arasaratnam 1969). The preponderance of these are Tamils, though there is a significant Malayalam-speaking minority.

Tamil is one of four official languages in Singapore (Europa Yearbook 1986) and the language is, hence, in a more favourable position here than anywhere else in the Dravidian diaspora with a full complement of formal and informal support mechanism, including Tamil medium education in the schools, daily newspapers and broadcasts in the language, plus private literary activity in Tamil. None the less, a thorough study of these mechanisms over time show a clear trend toward the decline of Tamil in favour of the official link language, English.

The Institute of Education is responsible both for training teachers and developing curriculum for both the Tamil medium education track and for the Tamil language classes. Here, just as in South Africa and in Mauritius (see 4.2.2 below) not enough local people come forward as Tamil teacher trainees, and teachers must be recruited from India (Arasu 1981). Government support for Tamil does go beyond the sphere of formal education, however. The government prints a variety of documents in Tamil (Kuo 1980) and in the late 1970's the Ministry of Culture printed a Tamil grammar authored by a local Singapore Indian (Arasu 1981). Government policies alone, however, are insufficient. The population must take advantage of them in order for a language to prosper. Figures by Kuo (1980) show that children taking advantage of Tamil medium education are a far smaller proportion than are the total number of school children of Tamil origin.

Government support also extends to the media where the Singapore Broadcasting Corporation airs a fulltime service in Tamil simulcast on both AM and FM (Moag, personal research), and eight hours of educational programming on television per week (Europa Yearbook 1986). The print media is in the private sector with the one newspaper actually published in Singapore, *Tamil Murasu*, having a circulation of 8500 and Sunday sales of 10,000 (*ibid*). A recent study of language in the media in Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia (Moag and Paauw forthcoming) shows a clear pattern of higher readership of the English press throughout the week with readership in the ethnic language presses—Chinese, Malay, and Tamil—rising dramatically on Sunday. This suggests that communal languages occupy the informal domain of light entertainment, for it

is in the Sunday papers that movies and cultural programs are listed. It must be pointed out that readership of Tamil newspapers is higher than the figures for Tamil Murasu would indicate, for the three Tamil dailies published in Malaysia have some circulation in Singapore as well. The Malaysian Tamil papers exhibit an even more dramatic split with Sunday circulations double those during the week. Some of this, too, surely reflects the Singapore market. The only other Dravidian language newspaper is the Malaysia Malayali, the only Malayalam daily outside Kerala. Its circulation is 3500 daily, but some of this readership is across the Straits in Malaysia.

Private literary activity in Tamil is also found in Singapore, but this is largely carried on by Indian expatriates. Arasu (1981) reports that Radio and television scripts and talks are the only source of income for struggling Tamil writers as the newspapers have no money to pay for articles. One private publisher, EVS Enterprises, produces Tamil materials (Europa Yearbook (1986). Arasu stated in the Fifth World Tamil Conference, "Now more people can read and write Tamil in Singapore than ever before," (1981), but he attributes this not to Tamil medium education of locals, but to a large influx of educated Tamils from India in the early 1950s. Some of these, including Arasu himself, write Tamil poetry, and many of them surely account for some of the circulation figures for Tamil newspapers and for the sale of Tamil publications. The critical question, of course, is what language do the children of these expatriates use in speaking to one another, which track do they follow in schools, and which newspapers, broadcasts, and literatures do they patronize.

A Tamil Language and Culture Society was inaugurated in Singapore in June of 1980 (Arasu 1981). It is avowedly nonsectarian, and its professed goals are the promotion of Tamil language and Indian culture. All Indian communities are reportedly represented on the board, and its first chairman was, in fact, a Malayali, Mr. Devan Nayar. There is evidence to suggest that the formation of such societies are symptomatic of the efforts of a final generation of native speakers to safeguard a language which their children have already turned away from.

Census figures published in Smith (1986) document the clear decline of the number of native speakers of Tamil in recent years to roughly half of the total Indian community. Arasu (1981) reports that many of the parents of the children currently studying Tamil language were themselves English monolinguals. Thus, a significant number of Tamils in Singapore are, despite the official language

policy and other support mechanisms, in the same situation as their brethren in South Africa. Once the continuous chain of passing on the language from one generation to the next is broken, there ceases to be a body of native speakers, and it becomes very difficult to maintain the language as anything more than an artifact to which people pay occasion lip service.

Even those who still use Tamil in Singapore today are often English-dominant. The Singapore Minister of Culture reported that many writers appear to think in English and translate into Tamil (Arasu 1981). This suggests the kind of skewed bilingualism described in Moag (1981) as typical of societies where English is a true second language. Arasu further reports that the radio is helping people with Tamil pronunciation for, "...speaking English most of the time, they tend to get careless in Tamil." This is suggestive of Mohan's report of marginal speakers of Trinidad Hindi losing the dental/retroflex distinction in their speech, replacing both kinds of stops with English-like alveolars (1978). Unquestionably, English is making major inroads in the Dravidian community of Singapore. Unless there is a renewed and ongoing infusion of native speakers of the language from South India, it appears that Tamil will continue to decline to the point where there will eventually be no justification for continuing its official language status. Malayalam, too, will continue to wane as the relative proportion of India-born Malayalis decreases, and publishing a newspaper in it will at some point become nonviable.

4. 1. 3. Dravidians in Malaysia. By far the largest number of overseas Dravidians live in Malaysia. Over one million strong, they comprise almost as many souls as all other countries in the Diaspora combined. The relative strength of the Indian population of Malaysia has decreased from 9.1% in 1970 (Population Census of Malaysia) to 7.4% in 1985 (Europa Yearbook 1986).

The demographics of the Indian population of Malaysia deserves special note. Williamson (1980) states, "The number of Tamil immigrants has decreased considerably over the past two decades, and the Tamil population of Malaysia is a relatively settled community." The 1970 census showed that 82.6% of the immigrants had been in the country for 20 years or more. The picture was much different during the 19th and 20th centuries until the ban on the export of labour from India in 1938. Sandhu (1969 : 313) cites a grand total of 4,245,990 immigrants from India between 1844 and 1938. During the same period, 3,011,706 returned to India, leaving a total net immigration of 1,234,224. The community has clearly

experienced some attrition, as the current figures for Malaysians of Indian and Pakistani origin combined are less than this by nearly 230,000. Subbiah (1966: 73) reports that even the second and third generation Tamil immigrants continued to return home to India and, "...had no attachment to Malaysia".

The 1931 census of India (Vol. 14, Madras Part I: 92) said of the Tamil immigrant to Malaya, "He takes his own world with him and sets it down in his new surroundings..." As early as 1920, however, Indians began to mark a difference between those born in India and those who were born locally. "There is discernable a growing tendency among the younger generation of Indians to disclaim all connection with India, and to take pride in calling themselves Straits-born," (quoted from the Straits Times of that year in Arasaratnam 1969: 100). Rajeswari (1969) describes the founding of many associations in the 1920's and 1930's: caste associations, ethnic, religious, and business associations. Hindu sabhas and sangams developed all over the country, but with no central organization. The Central Indian Association of Malaya formed in 1937 with regional associations and a few Indian chambers of commerce (Arasaratnam 1969: 98). The most militant ethnic association was the Tamil reform movement, but those of the Malayalis, the Sikhs, and the Ceylon Tamils were also strong (Rajeswari 1969). The Malayan Indian Congress was founded in 1947, and after a period under the leadership of immigrant principally of North Indian origin who attempted to promote Hindi as the language of the Indian communities of Malaysia and Singapore, thereby effectively ignoring the large component of the group which was monolingual in Tamil. It came under Tamil leadership in 1954, and was the basis for the subsequent foundation of an Indian political party (Arasaratnam 1969:114 ff).

The foregoing social and political developments involved, and principally effected, the urban and professional Indians, but these were only a part of Malaysian Indian society. Both scholars and Malaysian Indians alike acknowledge a fundamental dichotomy between urban dwellers and rural dwellers. "There are two folk categories which Tamils use to describe the basic social division in their community, town people and estate people..." (Williamson 1980:19). The social gulf between these groups is tremendous. Speaking of the estate workers Subbiah (1966: 17) writes, "...they are still the lowest of the low in social status and they neither make any attempt to hide this fact, or make any effort to improve their lot," while Arasaratnam says, "Both in Malaysia and Singapore

Indians occupy positions in the higher echelon of public service in far greater proportion than to their population," (1969: 195) He goes on to indicate that the preferred fields of endeavor are medicine, law, engineering, and teaching. He summarizes their situation as follows, "...they have become a class totally out of touch with their roots".

The basic social division between estate workers and town Indians is also reflected in education. The next three paragraphs are, unless otherwise cited, drawn from Arasarathnam (1969 : 183 ff). The plantation management set up primary Tamil medium schools on the estates to help attract workers, but these were in fact more nurseries than schools, though teachers were often brought from India or Ceylon. Government made no attempt to regulate these schools as they did not wish to get involved in providing education for immigrants. After 1870, the missionaries operated Tamil medium schools in some parts of the country for the estate workers. The first government-operated school in Tamil began in 1900.

At the same time, there were English medium schools operated both by missionaries and by the government. In English schools Indians learned no Tamil, while in the estate schools labourers' children learned no English, thus reinforcing the social barriers between them. Arasarathnam further reports that those attending Tamil schools tended to go only for the first six years, and that the dropout rate after the first three years was excessive. Subbiah writes that some estate children did not attend school at all (1966).

After World War II, there was a great expansion in education, and Tamil schools were booming. In 1954 the way was opened for bringing the Chinese and Tamil medium schools into the national school system through the gradual introduction of both English and Malay language classes in them. In 1965 it became possible for pupils of these schools to Join English medium secondary schools after undergoing a year in a removed class where they received intensive English training. Arasarathnam indicates that bright pupils from the Tamil schools on the estates did take advantage of this provision (1969 : 190)

The effects of education are clearly evident in the 64% literacy rate among Malaysian Indians (Population Census of Malaysia, 1970), significantly higher than that of districts in Tamil Nadu from which most of them emigrated. It is also noteworthy that the literacy rate for the two sexes is relatively close, 54% for men and 46% for women.

At the same time that education and literacy were developing among Indians in Malaysia, the community also continued the process of indigenization mentioned above. By 1947 half the community was Malaysia-born (Arasaratnam 1969 : 48). "The Indian began to Malayanize himself, and develop a different (from India), though thoroughly Indian way of live," reports Paauw (1977 : 6-7) continuing that caste differences tended to be reduced during the 1930's. Though his caste differences may-have lessened, and he was both urbanized and indigenized, the lifestyle of the town Indian in Malaysia remained thoroughly Indian. "He tends to create his own social and business associations from among his own kind. His colleagues are almost certain to be Indians, and he will try to raise his children to speak the Indian mother tongue," (Ginsberg and Roberts 1958).

In 1969 a new government language policy was implemented which is likely to have a cataclysmic effect on the future of Tamil in Malaysia in the long run. Malaysia and Singapore had become independent in 1956, and had continued the British colonial policy of recognizing four official languages: Chinese, English, Malay, and Tamil. Singapore split off in 1965 and continues said policy to this day, but Malaysia declared Malay to be official language in 1969, requiring all government servants to pass examinations in it, mandating a program to switch over to Malay medium in all government primary and secondary schools, and generally sought ways to advance the use of Malay throughout national life, thereby restricting the role of English, and downgrading the official status of the languages of the non-indigenous Chinese and Indian communities. Where English had been essential for participation in national life before, Malay would now assume that role. At the World Tamil Conference in 1981, Raju stated in his paper that 90% of the Indians in Malaysia are dependant on the wage-earning structure and that they, therefore, cannot afford the time to take Tamil as a third language in the national school system. Writing to this author in 1980, Thilagawati observed that "....heretofore Tamil has been losing ground to English, but it will henceforth be to Malay."

Even with this newest threat to its survival, Tamil is, if only by virtue of its number of speakers, more secure in Malaysia than anywhere in the Dravidian diaspora, and unique among overseas India languages. Subbiah (1966) claims that there has been no dialect leveling in the Tamil spoken in the country. This is in sharp contrast to the leveling found in the Hindi of Fiji by Moag (1977), in

Guyana by Vatuk (1969), in Surinam by Arya (1969), and in Trinidad by Mohan (1978). Dialect leveling has been found to be very common among immigrant communities, being reported among the Japanese of Hawaii (Nagara 1971) and among Italians in the U.S. (di Pietro 1974). Thilagawati (pers. comm. 1980) reports no significant differences between the Tamil of Malaysia and that of India, save for some Malay loan words in the former. Both she and Williamson (1980) indicate that there is no feeling of Malaysian Tamil being a substandard or corrupted from as is the case for all the afore-mentioned varieties of overseas Hindi. The variety of Tamil which is stigmatized, according to Williamson, is Ceylon Tamil, the language of a very small minority within the community, partly because it is so different from the transported mainland varieties. Her university educated Malaysian Indian informants characterized this variety as "a slang dialect" (1980 : 24). Williamson's informants, who would be members of the urban social group, identified three varieties of spoken Tamil as distinct from their own: Ceylon Tamil, workers (estate labourers) Tamil, and Muslim Tamil. It is considered a mark of unusual linguistic virtuosity to control more than one of these styles (ibid : 24). A study at the lexical level of estate workers in Perak district in the 1960s identified caste differences in kinship among those who drew their origins from Trichinopali District, but no such variation among those of Madras origin (Subbiah 1966). Is this not dialect leveling, at least in one segment of the community? Clearly the Tamil of estate workers is an area for further investigation.

It is not surprising that the latest available figures show Tamil still in considerable use in Malaysia. In 1986 there were three Tamil newspapers with a combined daily circulation of 69,000, not an extremely high readership for a population of one million plus, especially considering that these figures also reflect sales in Singapore. Each of these papers has a Sunday edition, and the combined circulation there is 139,000, fully double the daily readership. This suggests that, as in Singapore, the language is being relegated to less formal domains of activity such as light entertainment. Radio Malaysia still maintains its Tamil service (Europa Yearbook 1986) and Tamil news and films are still shown on television. Williamson reported that there were two theaters in Kuala Lumpur showing exclusively Tamil films in the late 1970s, and that cultural programs with artists from India took place at least once a month in the major towns (1980 : 24). One can only assume that the advent of the video cassette recorder in the 1980's has made Indian films readily available in the homes of Malaysian

Indians as it has for middle-class consumers in many other parts of the World. There is, as yet, no study which clearly relates the viewing of films to language maintenance, and this is most assuredly a desideratum. Though Tamil is still strong in the area of light entertainment, its loss of official language status, the switch to Malay medium in schools, and the relatively low readership of Tamil daily papers document that the language is losing ground to English and Malay in the formal domains of administration, education, and professional activity.

There is, however, one important factor which will mitigate against the rapid attrition of Tamil in Malaysia, i.e. the existence of a large body of monolingual speakers in the form of the estate workers. "The estate-dwelling Indians form a fairly insular sub-system within the total Malaysian sub-system..." (Ginsberg and Roberts 1958). In 1970, though 89% of the Indian community spoke Tamil, only 26% knew English, and 12% spoke fluent Malay (Population Census of Malaysia, Vol. 1, Table 25). This provides two factors cited in Moag (1987) as useful for minority language maintenance: a significant body of monolingual speakers, and speakers living in homogenous groups. Given the basic social dichotomy of Malaysian Indians cited above, it seems likely that differing patterns of language shift and language maintenance will continue to be observed among town and estate Indians in Malaysia.

4. 2. Dravidian Minority Areas. Over 370,000 Indians of Dravidian origin live outside South Asia where North Indians are in the majority. Table I shows five countries where Dravidians number under 50% of Indians. Four of these have significant Dravidian minorities: Fiji, Guyana, Mauritius and Trinidad. The number of Dravidians going to the Dutch colony of Surinam appears to be negligible. "The recruitment of the emigration agent for Surinam was located mainly in the United Provinces and Bihar," reports Speckman (1967: 202) who elucidates that the main depot was established in Calcutta in 1872 with sub-depots in Banares, Allahabad, Patna, and other towns. Hellinga (1955) in his discussion of language problems in Surinam mentions only Hindi with respect to the Indian community, with not so much as a mention of any Dravidian tongue. Thaninayagam also excludes Surinam from his list of destinations for indentured Tamil labourers.

Though they had some Dravidian settlers, there appears to have been no organized efforts toward the maintenance of Dravidian language and culture in Guyana or Trinidad. Thaninayagam (1970)

cites the figure of 4.4% for Guyanese Indians of Tamil origin. Smith and Jayawardena (1967) state that those of South Indian origin were regarded as a separate group in the community in Guyana, but they make no reference to language maintenance. Kloss (1961) reports that the two main areas of recruitment for Trinidad were the United Provinces and Madras. Mohan (1978) mentions that a small number of Telugus were among those who came, and that there is "anecdotal evidence" that the language was once spoken on the island. Tamil, she reports, "...is still spoken by older people in rural, primarily Madrasi, settlements," (1978: 11). With no hard figures to go on, I have estimated the Dravidian component as roughly ten percent of the total Trinidad Indian population (see Table I).

Significantly higher proportions of Dravidians are found in Fiji and Mauritius, 1/4 and 1/3 respectively, and each has seen organized efforts to safeguard the culture and language of Dravidian groups. These cases are, therefore, profiled in the two sections which follow.

4.2.1. Dravidians in Fiji. Information in this section, unless otherwise noted, is taken from Moag (1987), where primary sources for much of the data are cited.

Approximately 25% of Fiji's Indian immigrants were Dravidians. Though indentured labourers first came in 1879, recruitment did not begin in Madras until 1903, with the final shipload setting sail in 1916. Hindi was the language of work on the plantations, and a Hindi-knowing Dravidian, frequently a Malayali, would be made the head of a Tamil work gang. This meant that many South Indians could pass through the indenture system in Fiji and remain essentially monolingual. Indenture was abolished in 1920, and many Tamils moved to rented agricultural plots in rural areas with some of their fellows, which continued the opportunity for language maintenance. The Malayalis, in general, moved into the towns, and there were relatively few Telugu hamlets established.

In 1929 the colonial government of Fiji declared Hindi to be the official language of the Indian community, thus mandating its use in schools. Parents of minority children, particularly South Indians, sought redress. In 1937 Swamy Avinashananda was invited by local Tamils to come from India, and through his efforts the government relented somewhat, permitting other Indian vernaculars to be taught provided the parents of at least 15 children opted for it and agreed to pay the teacher. Even where these conditions

could be met, teachers were in short supply. The government allowed one teacher each for Tamil and Telugu to be hired from India, but after that closed the door on further recruitment.

Swamy Avinashananda founded the Ten India Sanmarga Sangham which initially concerned itself with promoting the teaching of Tamil and Telugu by stacking local school committees with South Indians. Concurrently, a number of the rural Tamil hamlets established lower primary schools which sought to impart at least basic literacy in Tamil. Tinker (1977:15) shows that only 31% of Indian children were in school in Fiji in 1941, mostly in the lower four classes. Many communities did not have schools at that time, and South Indian children who wanted to continue their studies would have to go to a government school some distance away where the only Indian medium of instruction was Hindi, with English taking over in the upper primary classes, and where Hindi was most likely the only Indian language taught as a subject. The Sangham continued its promotions, and at the zenith of its activity had Tamil language classes in 44 schools. This number was down to four in 1975. The Telugus broke away from the Sangam in 1941 and, for a few years, had their own school in Sigatoka, but this closed in 1949, and Telugu language teaching died with it. There appear to have been no Malayalam classes in Fiji.

The censuses provide some meaningful data on the decline of the South Indian languages. In 1956 there were 1498 Tamil-speaking households, some 300 reporting Telugu, and 168 reporting Malayalam. Tamils accounted for 5.8% of all households, and together the Dravidian language households numbered less than 2,000, under 10% of the 20,000 total for Hindi-speaking households. By 1966, the tallies had fallen by 50%, causing the chief census officer to write that the South Indian languages were now "statistically insignificant." Despite this writers representations, the staff of the 1976 census decided to omit the questions on language use. It was undeniably true that by that point, virtually all of the current generation of Indians of Dravidian origin had Fiji Hindi as their home language, and most likely as a mother tongue as well. Even the Hindi curriculum officer for the Department of Education was a South Indian.

Government gave some small recognition to Tamil outside the sphere of education. In earlier times they occasionally issued publications in Tamil, the last of these being in 1947. Even into the 1970's they would provide for interpreters for those who could not follow Hindi during hearings.

The Government chartered Fiji Broadcasting Corporation began a modest Indian service in 1954 with 15-minute weekly programs in Tamil, Hindi, and Urdu. The Hindi service now runs ten hours per day, while the South Indian languages are relegated to a 15-minute per week ethnic program which alternates between Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Chinese on a four-week cycle. These programs consist largely of film songs in the respective languages, and they are broadcast on the channel which principally serves the Fijian community, with Hindi programming running concurrently on Radio Fiji 2. Thaninayagam (1970) mentions "sporadic Tamil journalism" in Fiji, no evidence of this was found during my three years there.

Even the older Dravidian settlers know and use Fiji Hindi. I went out of my way one day to meet a sweet seller who people said was a Malayali. He reported that I was the first person he had been able to speak Malayalam with in several years, since his parents were deceased. Three Dravidian former indentured labourers were interviewed during my research. The Malayali and the Kannada speaker, both males, spoke fluent Hindi. The Telugu lady had limited passive competence in Hindi. Her children addressed her in Telugu, while the grandchildren would speak to her in Hindi and she would reply in Telugu. This is a typical profile during the last stage of language loss. Once the grandparents are gone, the grandchildren promptly forget the ethnic language. Since communication with the parents has always been in the dominant language, the social need to maintain the ethnic tongue is no longer present. It was particularly noteworthy in this case study that the lady's son was an ardent devotee of Telugu, even travelling to India to attend a World Telugu Conference, still he was unable to break the pattern of language shift in the next generation. Many other Dravidians lost their language as a result of marrying into a North Indian family. Mayer (1961: 145) states that Hindi was invariably the language of the home in such unions.

Not only did Dravidians join the mainstream of the Fiji Indian community linguistically, they did so politically as well. The TISI Sangham became increasingly involved with political activities with the result that the advocacy of language rights fell by the wayside. By the 1950's, the principal organs of political power were the three separate Indian farmers' organizations which had formed along communal lines. In 1959, however, the need to negotiate a more favorable contract for the purchase of their sugarcane persuaded them to join forces. This united association

later formed the basis for the Federation Party, created to contest the colony's first elections in 1961. Indians of all ethnic backgrounds participated in party activities on an equal basis, and Hindi was the only Indian language used in meetings or publications. Fiji became independent in 1970, and South Indians continued to play a role in the life of the new nation as members of the Indian community as a whole. The question of cultural retention after language loss will be addressed in the concluding section of the paper.

4.2.2. Dravidians in Mauritius. Benedict (1967:23) states that 33% of the Indian immigrants to Mauritius came through Madras. In enumerating their origins, he mentions only Tamils and Telugus. A mere 6% came through Bombay, listed only as Marathis and others. There may have been an occasional Malayali in the Bombay or Madras contingents, but no mentions of Malayalis or their language have been found in any of the literature surveyed. Assuming, in the absence of any precise date on repatriations, that the ratios of these ethnic groups preserved in those who stayed, there should be nearly 200,000 Indo-Mauritians of Dravidian stock today, almost precisely one fifth of the Islands one million total population (Europa Yearbook 1986).

Tamil is not yet dead in Mauritius, but there are some interesting questions raised by the available data on it. An important source is census data presented by Benedict (1961:34 ff). In 1952, 6.6% of Indo-Mauritians listed Tamil as their mother tongue, with a mere 2% listing Telugu. Benedict also provides some numerical figures, stating that of the estimated 75,000 Tamils, only 20,000 listed the language as their mother tongue, and less than 10% as the language currently spoken. An additional 5,000 listed Tamil as occasionally spoken. Benedict then goes on to observe, "...a great many Tamils are exclusively Creole speaking." In fact in the same census, 20% of the Indians listed Creole as their native language, and 30% as the language currently used.

Indenture ended in Mauritius in 1907 (Benedict 1967:23), earlier than any other country. Some of the arduous conditions endured by the labourers there described by Sinh were reported earlier in this paper. Mauritius was also the first to seek help from India. Mahatma Gandhi visited the Island at the invitation of a Muslim association in 1901. Little information has come to hand about developments during the following decades until Benedict's 1961 volume, actually written in the 1950's. What he writes about the Dravidians is, in many ways, nearly identical to the story just

outlined for Fiji above, yet in some major details it is very different. He mentions the formation of island-wide Tamil associations, and of vernacular schools. Tinker (1977:14) showed figures showing that many Indian children did not attend school in Mauritius in the 1930's and beyond. Benedict (1961) states that government schools were free, but not compulsory, adding that some teachers were available for Hindi and Tamil, and that parents may opt to have their children instructed in these languages if they wish.

Benedict further mentions an Indian revival movement, citing it as the cause of the separateness of the Southerners. "The Indian revival has not lead the Tamils to merge with the North Indians, but has brought about a new emphasis on Tamil culture," (1961:37). The emphasis would also seem to be on Tamil language, for a full one-year training course for Tamil language teachers was mounted in 1960 (Pushparatnam 1981).

I depend for the following data on Tamil education in Mauritius today on information supplied by Pushparatnam, a Tamil teacher from the Island who addressed the 1981 World Tamil Conference. In Mauritius today, school children have available one period a day devoted to "culture." This may be religious instruction, as for Catholics or Muslims, or instruction in the ethnic language, including Tamil or Telugu. The periods last 30 minutes per day for class 1, increasing five minutes per year for the next three years, peaking at 45 minutes where it remains from class 4 to 6. The Mauritius Institute of Education houses a curriculum development unit with education officers responsible for each language. The Mahatma Gandhi Institute has overall responsibility for curriculum, textbook writing, exams, and teacher recruitment. They look for those who have had some Tamil in school, and recommend them for a two-year training course for primary school teaching at the Mauritius College of Education, where there are two education officers for Tamil. In addition to these government schools, there are also temple society schools providing after hours classes in the language, often along with some religious instruction, for children aged 6 to 12. Tuition is generally provided by volunteers.

In the late 1970's, secondary level instruction in Tamil language was introduced by the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, with the first group of students scheduled to take the senior Cambridge Tamil exam in 1982. Pushparatnam reported that they had no textbooks so that teachers must manage as best they could, adding that they wished to prepare their own syllabus because they found the Madras

one "inappropriate." All of this is strangely reminiscent of concurrent developments in South Africa. The All-Mauritius Tamil Preservation Syndicate is another private body offering Tamil exams.

Outside of education, the support mechanisms for Tamil appear to be quite minimal. The only publication in the language seems to be the monthly trilingual *La Lumiere* which is in English, French, and Tamil (Europa Yearbook 1986). Unfortunately, no circulation figures are available. Recordings brought back by tourists indicate that there is some Tamil language programming on the radio but, again, no statistics are available.

Mauritius presents an especially complex sociolinguistic situation with English as its official language, a multiracial population with half a dozen of their ethnic languages now taught in schools, French Creole being the most widely known language, serving as the informal link language between groups, and a high prestige value placed on standard French which Creole speakers often use to elevate their social status (Benedict 1967). Far too little study has been done of this situation, and far too many questions remain unanswered from what data is available.

5. Conclusion. It has been substantiated in the preceding pages that throughout the Diaspora the Dravidian languages are involved in a process of attrition. All of the Dravidian minority areas show complete loss, save for Mauritius which appears to be in a late stage. In the majority areas, South Africa, like Mauritius, is experiencing a last gasp of attempted language maintenance before inevitable loss. Tamil and Malayalam are still supported by government policies and by significant bodies of native speakers in both Singapore and Malaysia, but there the similarity ends. In Singapore much of the support is due to significant numbers of recent immigrants from South India. It may be expected that their children will adapt to the Singapore Indian norm of preferring English over the mother tongue because of its importance for getting jobs in private industry as well as in government service. In Malaysia the preservers of Tamil are socially low class labourers on tea and rubber plantations and, to a lesser extent, in tin mines. Because of their low aspirations, and the fact that they live in homogenous groups relatively insulated from the rest of society, they could preserve their Tamil as long as these conditions obtain. The town Indians in Malaysia pattern like their brethren in Singapore except that they are now forced to go in for Malay rather than English in order to participate in their national society.

Those of us connected with the study of Dravidians tend to feel that the Dravidians will be unique wherever they go. It certainly may be argued that a majority of Dravidians, those who went under the indenture system, paid a very high price for the privilege of immigrating. Both they and their fellow Dravidians who came as professionals to Malaysia and Singapore have demonstrated remarkable industry. Laudible as this is, it is not limited to Dravidians alone. It is a well-known quality of many refugee and immigrant groups in many places.

Social scientists have long debated the question of whether culture and language are separable. For our purposes, can the Dravidian culture survive in overseas locations after language attrition. Though no truly rigorous study has been made on this issue, I offer a few thoughts in closing.

Thaninayagam (1970) cites the survival of firewalking and other South Indian Hindu practices in places like Fiji where the languages are already dead, inferring that at least certain aspects of the culture do survive. My own observation is that firewalking there today is viewed as an Indian practice rather than a South Indian one. Dravidians of the former generation tended to stand out because of their relative inability to produce the aspirated consonants of Hindi, but this is not the case with the current generation. Fiji Dravidians of today are aware of their Tamil or Telugu background, or that their mother was a Madrasi, but for the most part it makes no difference in terms of who they associate with, whom they would eat with, or whom they would marry. The only difference comes at holiday times when one or two special dishes may be prepared, and their names remembered. As far as I could learn, all Indians in Fiji celebrate the same holidays, and there were no observed instances of South Indians observing their own holidays. Under these conditions, virtually everything inspires unity with the larger Indian community, while virtually nothing separates or isolates them from it. The striking thing is, of course, that in Mauritius so many Dravidians have left the Indian community, at least linguistically. Studies are needed to tell us what degree of Indian, or Dravidian, identity these Creole speakers retain.

At this point, it does not appear that there will be any new locations, or any major expansions within the present locations of the Dravidian Diaspora. For us as scholars, this is well, for there is still so much in the way of study which can and should be

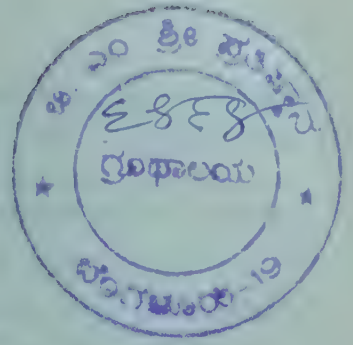
done in the overseas Dravidian areas, study which could greatly enhance our knowledge in the areas of language loss and maintenance, culture loss and preservation, and the sociology and psychology of ethnic identity.

Table I

Dravidians in Overseas Indian Communities

<i>Country</i>	<i>Number of Dravidians Today</i>	<i>Percentage in Indian Community</i>	<i>Degree of Language Loss</i>	<i>Dates of Indenture</i>
Fiji	86,287	25	full	1879-1920
Guyana	15,960	4.4	full	1838-1917
Malaysia	1,042,812	91	moderate	1838-1938
Mauritius	199,301	33	much	1835-1907
Singapore	145,890	91	moderate	none
South Africa	887,000	80	much	1860-1911
Surinam	0	none		1873-1916
Trinidad	49,520	10	full	1845-1917

This is the key note address delivered at the International Seminar on Dravidian Settlers in other Parts of the World, ISDL, Trivandrum, 11-15 Jan. 1988. The revised version of this will appear in the Proceedings of the Seminar (Ed.)



STATE OF LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN TAMIL SINCE 1980*

J. Neethivanan

Madurai Kamaraj University

The inherent curiosity of man to know the origin and the development of language has been responsible for the growth of modern linguistics in different dimensions. The initial interest of man in language was to know the structure of the language he spoke. Grammatical works were the result of such attempts in the earlier period among different communities. When these communities came closer, the scope of language analysis became very vast. Since there is no discipline which does not involve a language, language analysis attracted people from different fields such as anthropology, sociology, literature, philosophy etc. Coming together of so many people from different fields has given tremendous impetus to the fast development of language study into modern linguistics. Theoretical and applicational values of linguistics have come to be recognised by all.

Though modern linguistics is new to Tamil society, language analysis is age-old. As any other society, Tamils brought out grammatical works for better understanding of the structure of the language they spoke and for better appreciation of the rich literary wealth. However, grammatical works could not be understood by people from other disciplines without the help of the commentators and language analysis, in general, failed to attract others into its fold in Tamilnadu. There was no scope for new thinking and application of linguistic theories in other fields was seldom attempted. As T. P. Meenakshisundaram observed (1977), 'unable to clearly understand the trends of modern linguistics in the West, Tamil

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grammatical scholars, either mocked at it or misunderstood and confused it'. Of course, it was a group of dedicated language scholars who realised the rich potentials of this subject and introduced this to Indian Students.

Linguistics as a post-graduate course was first offered in Annamalai University in the year 1960. The Department was very shortly elevated to the position of an Advanced Centre. About three decades have passed since the first group of post-graduates came out of this Department. Since the pioneers were all language scholars most of the students who took up this course were also language oriented. Right from the beginning, linguistics began to be identified with language courses. Structural description, which was the prevailing trend in fifties and sixties in the linguistic world, perfectly suited with the interest of the Tamil scholars. Most of the works that appeared in the initial period were the description of ancient literary works. M. A. and Ph. D. dissertations and seminar papers of this period bear witness to this. It was in the late seventies that interest in other areas were shown by Tamil linguists even though the output was not very remarkable.

Structural description of classical literature has been the backbone of linguistics research in Tamil. From the earlier slot-filling taxonomic model, the generative model became the choice later on. Views of Chomsky and his followers in the West were faithfully, and sometimes even forcefully, transferred to Tamil description. However one could nowhere come across any theoretical break-through. Late seventies saw the gradual declining trend in structural description. Perhaps, most of the classical works had been described by this time and researchers went in search of new areas.

'Interest in diversification' was the trend in late seventies. Works other than structural description appeared during this period. '*Tamil Readers for Beginner's*' by M. Shanmugam Pillai (1975) were prepared on the basis of modern language teaching and learning techniques. These Readers were particularly useful for non-Tamil students. By introducing folk-stories in those works Shanmugam Pillai exposed the non-Tamil students to the Indian culture, while learning Tamil. '*Camutāya molīyiyal*', a book on socio-linguistics was brought out by K. Karunakaran (1975). Theories of dialectology, bilingualism, mass-communication, diglossia, language planning etc., have been introduced in this work. It is rather an ambitious work to present everything in sociolinguistics in one single work. Karunakaran has used a large number of English technical vocabulary in parenthesis and he has made a sincere attempt to coin Tamil equivalents for all of them. M. Kalaichelvan's '*tamilil*

vaḷakkukaḷ' (1976) is a treasure of dialect forms. He has collected dialect forms from literary sources, grammatical sources and inscriptional sources. Most of these forms are obsolete today and this work serves as a good source material for future research. He has also collected a large number of technical terms pertaining to ancient medicine, dance, architecture, music, palmistry, construction, agriculture etc. Kalaicelvan has spent one chapter on the theory and at the end he has given a list of dissertations on dialect works, completed and which were on progress.

When Kalaicelvan concentrated on ancient dialect studies, G. Srinivasa Varma (1977) introduced the modern dialectology in detail through his book '*kiḷai molīyiyal*'. Varma has taken great care while coining Tamil equivalents for the technical terms and he has illustrations from modern Tamil usages. He has tried to classify the Tamil dialects on the basis of research reports available to him. Techniques of field work, analysis of the data etc., have been explained in simple language. He has also spent a chapter on structural dialectology.

Language planning which was a part of Karunakarn's earlier work came out as an independent book titled '*molit tiṭṭa miṭuṭal*' by him (1977). In this work also he has carefully coined many Tamil technical terms which could be easily followed by a Tamil reader. This book introduces the theories of language planning in a detailed fashion. Karunakaran did not attempt any planning for Tamil language in this book. The present author's (1979) '*naṭaiyiyal*' introduces modern stylistic concepts in Tamil. The work consists of two parts. First part deals with the theories and the second part applies the stylistic theories to Tamil literature. The stylistic practices of ancient *cankam* poets as well as of modern fiction writers in Tamil have been studied and the differences between one another have been highlighted. The importance of highlighting the relation between the form and content is emphasised throughout the work. E. Sundaramoorthy's (1978) '*naṭaiyiyal arimukam*' explains the concept of style as found in Tamil grammatical works and Sanskrit rhetorics. He has carefully collected the views of some commentators also in this regard.

M. S. Thirumalai's (1979) '*ṭamil karpiṭṭal*' is an elaborate work on teaching Tamil. He has emphasised the importance to be given to different skills and illustrates them with conviction. Modern language teaching theories have been, perhaps for the first time in Tamil, presented efficiently. The differences between the teaching

of the same language as first and second language have been rightly explained.

Though late seventies witnessed the growth of interest in different branches such as sociolinguistics, dialectology, stylistics, language teaching etc., the interest in interpreting ancient grammatical works in the light of modern linguistic theories also grew up simultaneously. '*kāppiar neri: - eluṭṭiyal*' by D. Andiappan (1976), '*caṅka kāla eluṭṭiyal*' by T. Natarajan (1977), '*moḷi āyvukkaṭṭuraikaḷ*' by T. Murugarathanam (1978), '*moḷiyiyal: colliyal - peyariyal*' by S. Agesthalingom (1979) etc., bear witness to this. T. P. Meenakshisundaram's (1977) '*moḷiyiyal viḷaiyāṭṭukkaḷ*' traces the history of linguistics in brief. This is an important contribution though it is only one chapter, in the book. This is very helpful to a Tamil reader who is interested in knowing what is linguistics and its growth in a non-technical fashion.

This trend in 'interest in diversification' which started in the late seventies is found growing in the eighties also though the growth rate is not very remarkable. Phonetics, stylistics, lexicography and language teaching have attracted many scholars in addition to general linguistics and historical linguistics.

'*oliyiyal*' by S. Rajaram (1980) is exclusively on phonetics. This book could be broadly divided into three parts viz., (i) general phonetics (ii) Tamil phonology and (iii) phonetics and other branches. The first part contains a large number of technical vocabularies. Rajaram has freely used terms that have already gained currency. He has not unnecessarily tried to coin a new one when there is an accepted one. This attitude is not found among many other Tamil linguists who do not normally accept what another person has used. Standardisation of technical terms is very much affected by such an attitude. This book will serve as a basic textbook for Tamil students who are interested in knowing the elements of general phonetics.

There are two books worth mentioning in the field of language teaching. '*pilai āyvu*' by N. Nadarasa Pillai and S. Vimala is a pioneer attempt on error analysis in Tamil using modern language teaching theories. After giving a brief introduction on linguistics and language teaching the authors explain the theories of contrastive analysis and error analysis. Then they proceed to error analysis in Tamil, when taught as a second language. The authors claim that same applies also when Tamil is taught as a first language. The authors have been very careful in using the technical jargon to the

minimum level. With their long experience in the field of teaching Tamil as a second language, the authors could have concentrated more on the practical side of error analysis in Tamil instead of such elaborate discussions on the theoretical issues. Another book is the one by M. S. Thirumalai (1983) titled '*paṭal payirrumurai*'. This book deals with poetry teaching in Tamil (as mother tongue). Selection, teaching techniques, exercises and testing methods are explained in this work. Thirumalai has also made an evaluation of the existing text-books and the examination system and offered solutions wherever necessary. This book is more useful to the curriculam designers as well as the teachers and students of literature.

V Jeyadevan's (1985) '*tamiḷ akarāṭiyiyal vaḷarcci varalāru*' is a treasure of information on Tamil Lexicography. He explains the history of Tamil lexicography in terms of three periods viz., (i) pre-nikaṇṭu period (ii) nikaṇṭu period and (iii) period of dictionaries. Almost all the available informations on nikaṇṭus are given in this work. Jeyadevan does not bother about the modern lexicographic theories. He has explained his motivation very clearly and sticks to it. Lexicographic theories as gleaned from nikaṇṭus and akarāṭis are alone explained by him. He has also prepared a dictionary of meanings as explained by Tolkappiar. Jeyadevan opines that among Tamil dictionaries quantity is more and not the quality.

E. Sundaramoorthy has been continuing his explorations into the field of stylistics. His works '*Bharathi naṭaiyiyal*' (1985) and '*ṭirukkuraḷ naṭaiyiyal*' (1987) try to bring out the stylistic techniques used by two Tamil poets belonging to different periods. However he has made no attempt to compare these styles anywhere. He has studied the individual styles of two poets applying modern stylistic principles. Going through these works one feels that the illustrations could have been reduced substantially. Many works like these two will definitely help to evolve a stylistic theory of Tamil literature.

Two books on historical linguistics appeared during this period. R. Shanmugam's (1981) '*Kalaṇṭōrum ṭamiḷ molī*' could be divided into three parts viz., (i) chronological history of Tamil (ii) history of certain grammatical categories and (iii) history of borrowed terms. The second part is more informative in this work than the other two since such approaches are very commonly found in Tamil language history. The annexures given by Shanmugam would be very useful to the students of Tamil history. '*ṭamiḷ molī varalāru*' by S. Saktivel (1984) is an elaborate work on the history of Tamil language. He has provided a vast amount of

information collected from different sources. He has followed the chronological basis for the explanations. History of Tamil dialects and history of Tamil writing system are two useful additions to this work.

S. Valavan (1984) has brought out a book on general linguistics, while K. Paramasivam has his '*tamil marapiyal*' which introduces modern theories and interprets the grammatical works in the light of modern linguistics. K. Rangan has introduced Transformational Grammar into Tamil; Srinivasa Varma has introduced Bilingualism to Tamil readers while Arokianathan introduced Diglossia.

Inspite of the developments on one side, there is also a disturbing trend in the eighties. The total lack of seriousness in the field of phonetics is really alarming. There is a vast difference between what was found in the sixties and now. Intensive phonetic drills for the linguistic students is seldom given these days. Most of the students who come out with a post-graduate degree in linguistics today are not able to transcribe even a single Tamil word correctly. Identification of prosodic features and their analysis is a dream today. It is a common fact that prosodic analysis in India as a whole is still in its infant stage. The phonetic laboratories which raised so much hope when they were opened could not live upto their expectation. In the sixties most of the students who joined linguistics were students of literature. Naturally, many of them did not come forward to specialize a science subject like instrumental phonetics. Now, even though many science students are joining linguistics courses, labs and the teachers have failed to win over them. Moreover financial constraints have also stood in the way of equipping these labs with modern instruments.

As a result of this trend in phonetics, interest in dialectology has also gone down. Comparing with the earlier periods one does not come across many works on dialectology. Students who go on field work for data collection return back with transliterated data. The amount of importance given to field methods course in the sixties is not found in the eighties. Field methods course is practiced rather as an abstract theoretical art. It is indeed very sad that Tamil is yet to have a full-fledged dialect survey though references to the presence of dialects are centuries old. Tamil University has taken the initiative to conduct a dialect survey, though on a limited scale. International school of Dravidian Linguistics (Pondicherry) undertook a similar survey on a limited scale. Without a strong foundation in phonetics, field investigators face serious problems when working with phonological issues.

Computer, which has conquered almost all the subjects is yet to enter the Linguistics Departments in Tamilnadu. Except the modest beginning made at the Tamil University no other teaching Department has any scope for the introduction of computational linguistics. Linguistics Department in Madurai Kamaraj University is now encouraging the research fellows to apply the techniques of computer analysis for their dissertation works. Lack of computer knowledge has indeed proved to be a handicap in understanding many of the sociolinguistic contributions from the West which freely use computer analysis. Eighties are yet to witness a sociolinguistic article based on computer analysis in Tamil.

George Hart and V. S. Rajam in U. S. A. and Thinnappan in Singapore have been using computer for the analysis and teaching of Tamil language.

Unless Universities and research institutions take up huge projects, young linguists are not likely to develop interest in any particular field. Central Institute of Indian Languages' continuous work in the field of Tamil teaching has drawn many young scholars into its fold. Universities in Tamilnadu have research projects in linguistics not strong enough to absorb many potential linguistic scholars. In the absence of job potentialities many students who join linguistics courses do so just to get a degree. After post-graduation, they take up jobs totally irrelevant to their studies. Students find linguistics degrees very unproductive.

The literary wealth of Tamil offers a vast scope for translation works. A number of summer schools, part-time courses, etc., have been conducted on translation theories and practice. However, this field has also failed to attract many people. Theories of translation peculiar to Tamil has not been attempted by any one. Bible Society of India attracts some Christian students into its fold for the purpose of translating Bible into little known tribal languages. Some linguistics graduates from Madurai have joined this society and engaged in translation works. However, nothing has come out on the theoretical side.

As far as the interest of language scholars and students in linguistics is concerned there seems to be a declining trend. In sixties language scholars dominated the scene; now they are parting ways. There could be many reasons for this trend. In the eighties, linguistics has become more inter-disciplinary in its approach. Structural description is now just one aspect. For understanding modern linguistics, knowledge of philosophy, sociology, mathematics

cognitive science etc., have become essential. Naturally, students of language and literature do not show much interest. The interest of the language and literature students has now shifted to folklore and comparative literature. They feel themselves quite at home with these disciplines. In both these areas they deal with literature and subjective approach is tolerated.

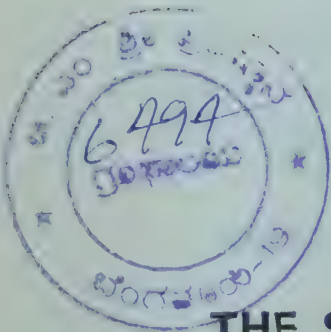
Another important factor should also be noted. Tamil society is very notorious for the personality cult in every field. Perhaps this is true in academic world too. As long as some dominating personalities of Tamil literary world patronized linguistic studies, many followed them. Once these personalities disappeared from the scene, the interest of their followers also disappeared. Unless the Linguistics Departments in Tamilnadu develop inter-disciplinary studies, backed by huge projects, linguistics will find it very hard to gain a respectable status for its own.

The extra-ordinarily large number of research papers that are published annually through the Proceedings of the All-India Tamil Teachers Association, 'āyukkōvai' and 'molīyiyal', it was felt that one can't survey and evaluate them in a short period. Hence, only the published books have been analysed. However, there is every possibility that some books might have escaped the notice of this writer, which is unintentional.

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- Valavan S. 1984 *poṭu moliyiyal*, Seenuvasachari St., Madras.



THE STATE OF LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN KANNADA : 1977-1987*

R. C. Hiremath

Dharwad

The Linguistic wave generated during 1960s by the munificent grants made available by the Rockefeller Foundation, Newyork to the Deccan College, Poona created an awareness about language in general and Linguistics in particular in this land of languages and Grammarians. This awareness opened the eyes of the scholars, young and old towards the new science of Descriptive Linguistics and other branches. The Descriptive Linguistics which had its genesis for the first time by the great grammarian Panini in this country had its rebirth again during the 60s. Linguistics Departments, Advanced Centres and Independent Institutions for the cause of linguistics were started and a systematic study of all the branches of linguistics was taken up.

Karnataka which has a rich grammatical heritage also fell in line with the main stream. The Karnatak University and the Mysore University started Linguistics Departments in their Institutes of Kannada Studies. The other Universities in the state however have not taken up the question of starting Linguistics Departments. But the research in linguistics preferably in the field of Historical and Comparative linguistics was being done even much earlier. Systematic study of the dialects, socio-linguistics etc., was started however by the commencement of the Departments in the University.

During the decade just preceded i e., 1977 to 1987 the pace of the linguistics research has not been that fast as it was in the previous decade. Several young scholars are showing keen interest in linguistic studies. The question of harnessing the talents and to

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bringing them together in a linguistic circle or providing a forum by way of a journal in Kannada or in English for publishing linguistics articles in Kannada and on Kannada is the need of the hour. However some tangible work has been done during this decade.

The survey may be made under three heads.

- a) Descriptive Linguistics
- b) Historical Linguistics and
- c) Other Linguistics studies.

I. Descriptive Linguistics :

Under Descriptive Linguistics some books have been published on Kannada. Andronov's original work in Russian title "JAZYAK KANNADA" was rendered in English under the title "The Kannada Language". William madtha has abridged the work and translated the same in kannada under the title "Kannada Bhashe". It is a standard work and one can get insight into the Kannada Language by reading this translation. An outline description of modern literary Kannada is found in brief in this work. It may be noted here that a detailed and exhaustive grammar of modern standard Kannada as found in the literary works is very badly needed. "Kannada Bhashe" is just a beginning in this direction.

Schiffman Harold has written a book entitled "A reference grammar of spoken Kannada". It is published by The University of Washington Press Seattle & London in 1983. It deals with Morphology and Syntax of Kannada as spoken in Mysore. But it is a language spoken by the educated people. Noun phrase and verb phrases have been dealt in detail. A good bibliography and an index exhaustive to date being added to this work have enhanced its value. It is a pure descriptive grammar.

Dr. D. N. S. Bhat has published the work "Kannada Vakyagalu": antarika rachane mattu artha vyatyasae". Geetha Book House, Mysore has published it in 1978. The internal structures of kannada sentences have been dealt in depth. D. N. S. Bhat is an original thinker and the book though small is stamped with this characteristic. Another noteworthy work published in 1978 by Chicago University Press is by Bean, Susan S. The title runs as "Symbolic and Pragmatic Semantics: A Kannada System of Address". There is a freshness and new approach in the subject selected and the analysis made. "The structure of Kannada" that was published in 1960 by the Karnatak University has its second

edition in 1981. A new approach has been adopted in this edition. It is the descriptive analysis of Darwad Dialect of Kannada.

Varma Srinivasa has brought out "Kurumba Kannada" a dialect spoken in Tamilnadu around Pudukkottai. It is published by the Annamalai University in the year 1978. It gives a brief description of the Kannada dialect as spoken in Tamilnadu. It duly contains phonological and Morphological sections and a list of vocabulary. A few articles on Descriptive Linguistics published during this period are noteworthy. "Phonology of Kannada" by Bhat K. P. in studies in early Dravidian Grammars edited by S. Agesthalingam and N. Kumaraswami Raja, published by Annamalai University is one such paper. It deals with the phonological aspects from the point of the view of modern linguistics. Some phonological problems have been taken up but decisive solutions are not given. Another article is by William Madtha in Karnataka Bharathi 1978. Its title runs as "Kannada Anunasikya mattu Ananunasikyagalu" Kannada nasals and non-nasals have been dealt in this article. As early as 13th century this phenomenon was noted by Keshiraja in his Shabdamanidarpana, wherein he states that y, v, l are both nasals and non-nasals. It was expected in the present paper that some more details about this regarding the modern kannada would be available. The environment and condition under which this phenomenon would be noticed was also expected. Madtha is making way towards it. But still a detailed study and a deeper insight is necessary.

The same author (Madtha) has contributed a paper "Sandhi in Kannada" in a work entitled "papers in Linguistics edited by M. S. Sunkapur and J. S. Kulli and published by Sharat Prakashana, Mysore in 1981. Here again Sandhi rules in Traditional Grammars have been enunciated mainly based on semantics. But there is something more and a basic principle involved in Sandhi. Madtha has tried to define Sandhi Rules under the phonological conditions which is a new approach.

A number of articles on Morphology and Syntax which would come under the caption Descriptive Linguistics have been published. They may be noted here.

Bhat D.N.S. 1979. Vectors in Kannada. *IJDL* No. 2, 300-309

Bhat V. G. Copula in Kannada. *Papers in Kannada Sharat Prakashana, Mysore.*

————— Kannada Sahayaka Kriyapadagalu. *Sadhane* 9.2. 113-149. The same paper is published in English in

the proceedings of All India University Tamil Teacher's Conference. 11 Hyderabad 1979.

- 1981. The verb beeku in Kannada. *Dravidian Syntax* Ed. S. Agesthalingam and N. Rajashekar Nair, Annamalai University.

Biligiri H. S. 1985 *Gamaks Samasavu Samasave Alladiddare*. (if gamaka compound is not a compound at all) B. M. Shri. Prathistana, Bangalore.

The author has a negative approach to the problem. Some linguistics phenomenon peculiar to this compound is noticed as against the Karmadharaya Compound. For instance tuugva + tottilu > tuugudottilu in karmadharaya

“rocking, cradle” tuugundottilu in Gamaka
e:ruva + javvana should become
e:rujavvana in Karmadharaya and
e:rumjavvana in Gamaka

The form e:rumjavvana alone is found in medieval and old kannada, and generally sandhi has a brief form but here it is little expanded. The present article does not explain the philosophy underlying this.

Gowda Kushalappa K. 1978. Passive voice in Kannada. *Annals of Oriental Research*. 28. 1. University of Madras.

Kulli J. S. 1981 Personal pronouns in Kannada. *Papers in Linguistics* Eds. M. S. Sunkapur & J. S. Kulli. Sharad Prakashana

Madtha William 1979. Karaka mattu Vibhakti. *Karnataka Bharathi* This is a very valuable article in the sense that the relationship between karaka and vibhakti is being investigated in terms of deep and surface structure.

- 1981. Co-ordinate sentences in Kannada. *Dravidian Syntax* Eds. S. Agesthalingam & Rajashekar Nair, 131-146, Annamalai University.

Gowda Kushalappa K. Keshiraja and his Verb Morphology. *Early Dravidian Grammars* 269-282 Eds. S. Agesthalingom & N. Kumaraswami Raja, Annamalai University.

Halemani Lingadevaru & M. N. Leelavathi. Kannada Vyakarana Vicara : ondu vivedane. *Karnataka Bharathi*.

Hegde Gopalkrishna 1984. *Adunika Bhasha Vijnanada Hinnaleyalli Keshiraja. Sadhane*

II Historical Linguistics:

We shall now turn to Historical Linguistics:

Gowda Kushalappa K. and Chinnappa Gowda have edited *Dakshina Kannada Jilleya Khaifiayattugalu*. Records pertaining to south Canara are published by Dharmasthala Manjunatheswara Pustaka Prakashana Male Ujire in 1988.

This multidimensional study of the records gives some Historical, Cultural and Linguistic features of the text. As per linguistic features, sociolinguistic aspect has been highlighted. The cultural study reveals the Folk-aspects.

Upadhyaya U. P. has brought out a comparative study of Kannada dialects viz., Bellary, Gulbarga, Kumta and Nanjangud dialects. It is published by prasaranga, Mysore University, Mysore. The Phonological and Morphological study of the above dialects is done on comparative level. It has a very useful appendices of 300 items of comparative vocabulary and 53 sample sentences translated.

Gowda Kushalappa K. 1986. *Kannada bhashe mattu vyakaranagalu: ondu adyana* Prasaranga, Mysore University, Mysore.

The three grammars Kavirajamarga, Shabdamanidarpana and Shabdanushasana have been studied from the point of view of the modern linguistics. This is a very unique and useful study.

Kulli J. S. 1976. *Keshiraja Shabdamanidarpana*. Karnataka Uni. The another has reinterpreted the work Shadamanidarpana it is a very valuable work.

Saundattimath S. 1979. *Kannada bhashe vyasanga*. Roopashri Prakashana, Gulbarga.

This is a descriptive study of Kannada in relation to the traditional grammar.

Murigappa A. *Linguistic analysis of colloquial Kannada in Bidar District*.

It is a valuable study since Bidar Kannada which has been subjected to the impact of languages like Urdu, Marathi etc. The analysis made here is very scientific.

Maheshwaraiah M. M. *Deevare Kannada*. is a study of a dialect spoken by Deeve Community in Shivamoge District.

Chandrashekara Bhat. *Havyaka Kannada of South Canara.*

A Descriptive analysis of Havyaka Dialect of Kannada in South Canara District.

Chandraiah B. N. *Harijana Kannada.*

It is a Description of the dialect spoken by harijan community in Mysore District.

B Ramachandra Rao brought out "Kannada Bhasha: Pradheshika Vaividya". The regional variety of Kannada language have been dealt in this book This is an India Book House publication and published in 1978. The peculiarities of various regional dialects have been aptly brought out with proper illustrations. As in the previous section some notable papers published in various journals may be cited here;

Gowda Kushalappa K. 1981. The Eleventh Century Kannada Inscription of Sravanabelagola-A Phonological study. *Annals of Oriental Research* vol. 30, Madras University.

The study of the inscriptions from the point of linguistics is an absolute need. Kushalappa Gowda has done a good work in this field by way of books and papers. This is one such good paper noted for its accuracy.

Rajaram S. 1981. Personal Pronouns-A comparative analysis of Tamil and Kannada published in *Kannada Linguistics*, Eds. M. S. Sunkapur and J. S. Kulli. Sharad Prakashana, Mysore.

Bhat V. G. 1982. Agent Suppression in Kannada and Tulu. *IJDL* No. 2. 277-200.

Ulrich Helen E. 1976. The Kannada Verb - Sociolinguistic implications. *IJDL* No. 2. pp 327-337.

Acharya A. S. Kannada at Rabakavi. 1981. *Papers in Linguistics* Eds. M. S. Sunkapur & J. S. Kulli. Sharad Prakashana, Mysore.

Chidananda Murthy M. 1984. Further light on palatalization and Velarization in a Kannada Dialect. *IJDL*.

III The third section comprised of Anthologies, Works on Language planning and development etc.,

A new wave in Karnataka state is blowing forcibly regarding the installation of Kannada as an administrative language. Unfortunately the Government and the administrators have not yet realised fully the role of linguistics in this field. They have been striving hard for the last four decades for adult education in the state

and the eradication of illiteracy. Poor primary school teachers and frustrated unemployed graduates are being tripped for this job. Teaching of Kannada to the adults is not the same thing as teaching of Kannada to the children. There is a scientific method which is necessary to be adopted for this purpose. If only the Govt. had realised this and taken some measures in this respect some tangible work would have been turned out regarding the adult education and eradication of illiteracy in the state.

The following articles by Mallikarjuna B. and Yaduraja and others have been drawing the attention of the Govt. and the public in this regard.

Mallikarjuna B. 1980. *Agalitagaranige Kannada..*
CIIL, Mysore.

Mallikarjuna B and K. Narayana. 1983. *Patrakarthanige Kannada.*
CIIL, Mysore

Mallikarjuna B. and K. R. Sadanand. 1984. *Byankinaverige Kannada.*
CIIL, Mysore.

Mallikarjuna B. Yadurajan and K. Narayana. 1986. *A work book on Administrative Kannada.* Directorate of Kannada and Culture & CIIL.

L. S. Seshagirirao *Kannada Alivu-Ulivu.*

This deals with the development of Kannada and published by Kannada Bhashabhivridiya Sameeskshe Prakasanaa, Bangalore in 1983. This book aims at showing the development of Kannada. Part-I pertains to the development of Kannada in various professions viz., socio-political and Economical aspects. Educational, Mass Media, Semantics and Technological areas have been covered in this section. Part II mentions about the men of letters and their role in development of Kannada. Though it is a good attempt the problems have been dealt which unscientifically as most of the problems fall in the field of linguistics and no linguists has been involved in this.

Mallikarjuna B. *Kannada Nudi.* deals with Kannada for non-Kannadiga. This book would be helpful in the non-kannada schools where Kannada is taught from the very 1st Std.

- Mallikarjuna B 1980. *Kannada Vidyarthigala Bhashika Tappugalu*. CIIL, Mysore. The error analysis has been made and the errors have been enlisted.
- 1985. *Vocabulary Education*. Vagdeevi pustakagalu, Mysore.
- 1985. *An Introduction to Kannada Script - reading and writing*. CIIL, Mysore.
- 1985. *Kannadetara Sarakari Naugararige Kannada*. Directorate of Kannada and Culture, Bangalore. This is a Kannada course for non kannada speaking official of Govt. of Karnataka.
- 1986. *A Monograph on Teaching of Kannada in Primary Schools to the Children of Linguistic Minority in Karnataka*. CIIL, Mysore.
- 1986. *A work book on remedial exercises for errors committed by Kannada learning children*. CIIL, Mysore.

These titles are very attractive and are of great significance in the present context in Karnataka. But they have been done in a great hurry without going through all the aspects of the subject. But something is better than nothing. The work has been commenced just now in such a field as kannada at administrative level, teaching Kannada to non-Kannadigas at primary schools etc. Scientific thinking in these direction will make things easy and acceptable and thus go a long way in establishing Kannada at all levels. These publications whatever be the size and quality are highly welcome. The only thing is those who are undergoing training in these disciplines either as Administrators or as the children learning in schools should be made aware of the fact that such works have come out and their task would be easier if scientific methods are followed. Hence these publications are welcome. There are some anthologies which deserve to be mentioned in this section. They may be enumerated here :

Chidananda Murthy 1981. *Vagartha*. Bangalore. This contains papers on language change, dialectology, grammer, place names, proper names etc.

Gowda Kushalappa K. 1981. *Kannada Bhashavalokana*. Madras University. It contains articles on Kannada language and linguistics.

Gowda Somasekhar. 1981. *Bhashavijnana Viveka*. Sahrudara Prakashana, Mysore.

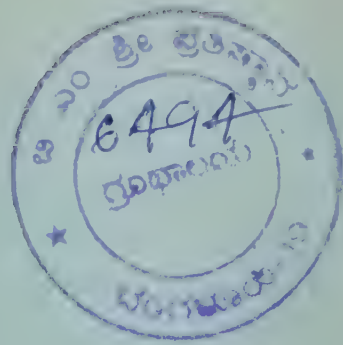
Murigappa A. 1980. *Papers in Kannada Linguistics*. Brindavan Publishers, Mysore.

Raghunatha Rao 1984. *Essays on Kannada Grammar – Comparative and Historical*. Bangalore.

Ramaswamy C. 1981. *Kannada Bhashanuuoga* Swanthika Prakashana, South Kanara.

This shows the continuity of linguistic research and publication in Kannada and on Kannada. It appears no major projects have been taken up by any University or Institution except the project for Tulu Lexicon in Govind Pai Memorial Research Institute and Kannada -Kannada Dictionary at the Kannada Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore.

The universities in the state are saturated for want of funds and hence we can't expect bigger projects and major publications from them. Institutions like the D. L. A. and the International School of Dravidian Linguistics are the only hope not only for South India but for the whole country. Central Institute of Indian Languages should have by this time developed these branches. But in spite of the adequate equipment still the turnover is inadequate. This is the state of linguistic studies in Karnataka and in Kannada.



COMPARATIVE DRAVIDIAN STUDIES FROM 1980*

P. S. Subrahmanyam
Annamalai University

Introduction

0. The study of Dravidian Comparative Grammar has been continuing steadily from the time Bishop Robert Caldwell sowed the seeds by way of his monumental work of 1856. Though this work is outdated now because of the later developments in the theory of comparative linguistics and the availability of much more data both on the literary and the non-literary languages, it is even today often consulted for the brilliant observations of the author some of which hold good even after the lapse of more than a century and a quarter. After Caldwell, the two scholars, Professors T. Burrow (who died on June 8, 1986) and M. B. Emeneau stand out as the torch-bearers in the field. Their contributions in almost all aspects of comparative Dravidian Studies are and will be the guiding force for scholars of the present and the future generations. It is not an exaggeration to say that all other scholars in the field depend on the work of the two great scholars and take inspiration from it. Whatever new contributions other scholars are able to make are possible only because they have the advantage of consulting the DEDR and of having as the basis or model the scientific work carried out by these two scholars.

In any growing discipline, a survey at occasional intervals, of the major developments by a competent person involved in it is very essential so that scholars can keep track of the growth and identify the areas where further work is called for. Professor

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Bh. Krishnamurti wrote two such survey articles, one in 1969 (actually written in 1966) and the other in 1980. The first survey is very comprehensive and as such remains a standard review of the developments upto that period right from the beginning. The second one is also comprehensive as a survey of the literature but the only drawback in it is that Krishnamurti projected his views as though they are the final ones dismissing off-hand the views of those scholars that differ from him. Chapter I of Subrahmanyam 1983 contains a survey of the study of Dravidian Comparative Phonology.

In the following paragraphs.....

I propose to survey the field of Comparative Dravidian Studies from around 1980 onwards under the following heads :

1. Comparative Phonology
2. Comparative Morphology
3. Etymological Studies
4. Subgrouping
5. The Indian Linguistics area
6. New Descriptive Materials.

The following survey is based on the publications and the theses that have come to my notice. There may be some others that are left out; they will be included at the time of revising the paper.

1. Comparative Phonology

Subrahmanyam's Dravidian Comparative Phonology (1983) is the major work in this branch published during this period. It not only summarises the studies of various scholars upto that time but also provides solutions for some of the tantalizing problems of historical phonology, especially of Toda and Kota. Some of the new findings of the author arrived at during the preparation of this work were earlier presented as articles (see the References in this work, pp. 457-458). Professor Bh. Krishnamurti, in his foreword to this work, states: "This book can, therefore, be claimed as the most comprehensive and up-to-date account of Comparative Dravidian Phonology. Subrahmanyam has unravelled many a phonological problem involving divergent developments of Toda vowels and consonants during the last few years". Chapter I of this work presents a Survey of the study of Dravidian Comparative Phonology upto that time.

Emeneau has published three articles during this period. His 1979 article discusses the development of original vowels in non-initial positions in Toda and Kota. He observes that, in non-initial syllables, an original short vowel except *i is lost, that *i changes to y and that an original long vowel is shortened in Toda-Kota. In his 1980b article, he re-examined the developments of PDr. *ɭ in Brahui and added ɭ and L to the list of its reflexes; he has also noted that the proto-phonemes *ɭ and *ɮ fell together completely as did *r and *ɮ. In a forthcoming voluminous article (f. b.), he made a thorough survey of the developments of PDr. *C- in the daughter languages with some new ideas that are noteworthy. He makes the following observations: (i) *PDr. *C- being the only affricate in the phonological system is unstable and as a result changed in many languages to s, t (regularly in Toda, but also sporadically in others), K (not only in North-Dravidian but also in other languages) and Ø; (ii) All these changes are sporadic and conditions cannot be stated for them and thus they run counter to the neo-grammarians hypothesis; (iii) The phonetic motivation for the change of *C- to K- is the same as that for the change of *C- to t-; in both the cases the palatal, being unstable, merged with the stop of the neighbouring point of articulation (the following one in the case of the former and the preceding one in the case of the latter). (Here he could have brought in the analogous development of PDr. *tt and *nt into the corresponding dentals and retroflexes in some of the languages). (iv) This line of thinking allows in problematic cases a single reconstruction and suggests new etymological connections. (v) There cannot be any connection between the two similar processes *C- > h- > Ø- of Koya (a dialect of Gondi) and *C- > Ø- of South Dravidian and Telugu especially because languages like Malayalam and Kodagu, which underwent the latter process, still retain the affricate pronunciation of C- in words not affected by the latter change (that is, the loss here was a one stage process with no intermediary h)

The Chapter on Phonology of Emeneau's Toda grammar (1984) contains discussion on the comparative phonology of Toda, based on the earlier works of his as well as other scholars.

2. Comparative Morphology

A study of comparative morphology depends upon comparative phonology to decide whether two morphemes with the same or similar meaning of different languages can be really considered as relatable or not. As a consequence, the aspects of comparative phonology come to be reviewed in the discussion of comparative morphology. The two branches are thus interconnected to some extent.

In his Toda grammar (1984), Emeneau relates Toda morphology to that of other sister languages under the relevant sections. In his article in the *Festschrift* for Hoenigswald, he examined the process of reduplication (with or without phonological change) of certain lexical items including expressives in Dravidian. In another paper (f.e.) he observed that the oblique base Kan- of Brahui 1st person pronoun is derived from PDr. *yaṇ- and the additional K in it owes its origin to the doubling (after a short vowel) of the final K of the preceding word (for example, a noun ending with the plural suffix-K); he also noted that the reflexive pronoun in Brahui, that is, tēn could be from PDr. *tāṇ the change *a: > e: being due to contamination with the pre-Brahui 1st person singular pronoun *e:n.

Subrahmanyam (f.) contains a study of the formation of tenses in Kota-Toda from a comparative point of view. One of its claims is that the past tense marker -š- cannot be related to PDr *-C-past but it is the reflex of the r of the auxiliary *iru- 'to be'; it is argued that the Toda past tense construction was originally a periphrastic construction with the past participle of the main verb + the non-past forms of *iru- 'to be', for example, To PO-d-š-p-en 'I come' (1st sg. form of Pōr-(po-d-) (<*va:r- (*va-nt-)) < *va-nt+iru-pp-e:ṇ. Further, in this paper, an attempt is made to explain the origin of one of the conditional constructions of Kota, i.e. the one with the structure: Š'-k/ge:d-me:l 'when (one had) verb -ed/is/was verb-ing' by pointing out that the element-k/ge:d- in it is relatable to the present marker of Tamil, i.e. *-k (k) inṛ-, e.g. KO. ike:dme:l 'when (one) is/was staying' < *iru-kkinṛ-a + me:l. According to this hypothesis, Kota would be one more language to show the reflexes of *-k(k) inṛ- in addition to Tamil and Malayalam.

3. Etymological Studies

The most significant work on etymological studies is A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary: second edition by Burrow, T and Emeneau, M. B. (1984). As far as I know, this has been reviewed by the two scholars, Steever (1985 b) and Subrahmanyam (1985).....

It contains 5,569 etymological groups out of which 155 are new entries and an appendix of 61 entries consisting of newly identified items of Indo-Aryan or other non-Dravidian origin. "Scholars specialising in Dravidian linguistics (whether descriptive or comparative) and even those specializing in Indian linguistics will ever remain grateful to Professors Burrow and Emeneau for bringing out this compact edition which embodies judgements based on their ripe scholarship and unceasing interest ... The virtue of this great work

lies in the overall exactness and scientific precision manifested by the authors, which make it a viable basis for the further growth of Dravidian Studies" (Subrahmanyam 1985:71). "The present revised edition (*DEDR*) handsomely answers the call for revision prompted by the discovery of new languages, the publication of new grammars, and the formulation of new etymologies, all inspired in large part by *DED*" (Steever 1985b:479). It remains a standard work for a long time to come in spite of the fact that additions, deletions and regroupings all matters of detail, made possible by the existence of the work itself — will be suggested by scholars as has been done by the two reviewers.

4. Subgrouping

There are no publications exclusively devoted to the discussion of subgrouping during this period. However, a discussion on this matter is also called for because some scholars have in recent times questioned the wellknown tri-partite subgrouping and suggested alternatives. The widely held opinion is that there are three subgroups in Dravidian: 1. South Dravidian, 2. Central Dravidian (with two sub-subgroups, Telugu-Kuvi and Kolami-Parji) and 3. North Dravidian. The evidence for this, which was mostly collected from earlier sources but with addition of several isoglosses of shared innovation especially for Central Dravidian (Subrahmanyam 1969), was presented in Subrahmanyam 1971, pp. 505-531. Krishnamurti (1975, 1980) proposes that the Telugu-Kuvi and the Kolami-Parji subgroups have no shared innovation in common and therefore they should be considered as separate branches of Proto-Dravidian (the nomenclatures used by him, i.e. South Dravidian II or South Central Dravidian for Telugu-Kuvi and Central Dravidian for Kolami-Parji cause some confusion). Further he maintains that Telugu-Kuvi and the South Dravidian subgroups have a common ancestor: "There has emerged clearer evidence that the Ta-Ka, subgroup (SDr.) and the Telugu-Manda subgroup (SCDR., i.e. Telugu-Kuvi) has a common ancestor (stage of development) which is Proto-South Dravidian" (1980:20). The evidence he relies on for his theory is not as strong as he supposes it to be. The weakness of it has already been pointed out by me (Subrahmanyam 1976: 141-142). For example, lowering of high vowels before a low vowel in South Dravidian and Telugu-Kuvi is taken by Krishnamurti as evidence for grouping them together. But the process involved here, like the voicing of intervocalic stops, is simple assimilation and can be expected to take place independently in different languages or it could be due to diffusion. As pointed out by Emeneau (f. b.)

there can not be any connection between the development SDr *C->Ń and the Koya development *C>s>-h->Ń (see under 1 above). His reconstruction of 1st person plural inclusive pronoun as *ña:m (rather than *na:m; 1980 pp. 15-16, 20) is also unacceptable because neither Tamil nor Malayalam shows ñ in this word (they normally retain PDR. *ñ). To maintain that Ma. 1st person singular ña:n and pl. ña:ñña! vouch for *ñ in the inclusive plural is indeed a very strange way of argument. There is no substance in his allegation (1980:21) that I take retentions as innovations. The example he gives for this proves this fact. I felt and still feel that the gender distinction in Telugu-Kuvi and Kolami-Parji is an innovation for certain reasons which are valid in my opinion. If someone else merely thinks that this is a retention or even if he proves it to be a retention at a later time, does it mean that I took what were already to be retentions as innovations? Krishnamurti (1980:21) missed the point when he claims that I considered the morphological past negative construction of Konḍa-Kuvi to contain an innovated "grammatical morpheme". The point made by me was only that the construction has speciality only in its structure: Base+Negative+Past+Personal Suffix, but the suffixes are relatable to those found elsewhere in Dravidian. Of course, I think that this construction is an innovation; this opinion is admittedly open to question. Even Krishnamurti said nothing in favour of considering it to be a retention beyond any reasonable doubt.

In his 1976 article, Southworth examined the various views of Dravidian scholars regarding subgrouping. His observation that it is difficult to distinguish between a shared innovation and a result of areal diffusion in the case of geographically contiguous languages must be accepted and can not be questioned. But should we not try to discover some criteria for classifying a change as due to one or the other of the two processes instead of throwing up our hands in despair? There are some phonological changes that have not diffused even under favourable circumstances (e.g. * P- > h- or heightening of short mid vowels before a high vowel in Kannaḍa but not in Tuḷu or Koḍagu) while there are others that have diffused. Therefore, Suspecting all phonological changes as due to areal diffusion, as Southworth does (1976:116-117) seems to be an extreme step. Efforts must be made to determine what phonological changes could be due to diffusion and what are not. For example, a phonological change not common in other languages, like the change of an original alveolar to a palatal in Pengo-Manḍa-Kui-Kuvi (Subrahmanyam 1971:525), can be taken as a shared innovation. Even morphological innovations could be due to diffusion as pointed

out by Southworth (1976:119 under H), although I cannot agree that this particular case is due to diffusion. Therefore even using morphological innovations indiscriminately for subgrouping purposes can be objected to on theoretical grounds.

Southworth states (1976:117): "I must also emphasize here the need to consider only *innovations* and not common retentions as evidence for strict subgrouping, since some Dravidianists have not insisted on this point. This remark also applies to most of the lexical comparisons mentioned in DVM.....". I must state categorically that in my work only shared innovations or what were thought to be shared innovations were only taken as the basis for subgrouping. The shared retentions and common lexical items were mentioned only as secondary evidence for subgrouping already established on the basis of shared innovations. This underlying methodological principle was unfortunately not overtly stated in my 1971 work for two reasons. One is that most of the appendix of my 1971 work only summarises the earlier work (of others as well as mine) but where it does give new evidence it has been properly labelled as shared innovation or retention (note that only shared innovations were listed for establishing sub-subgroups). In my 1969 paper, where evidence was given for the first time for the Central Dravidian subgroup, only shared innovations were taken into consideration. The second reason is that I did not think anybody would suspect that one who talks about shared innovations and shared retentions separately may not know this simple methodological principle. One should recall also my criticism of Krishnamurti (1976: 141-142): "The retention of the process- intransitive (N) P : transitive (N) PP in many SDr. languages and Konḍa-Kuvi is of no use in deciding the subgrouping relationship because it is only a shared retention". Then, what is the justification for including shared retentions and cognate lexical items in a discussion on subgrouping? They, as secondary evidences, serve to strengthen the case for subgrouping. It is because a mass of shared retentions could be due to diffusion (as suggested by Southworth 1976:117) or they could also be continuations from the common proto period and, as such, indicate albeit secondarily, the subgrouping relationship. Cognate lexical items that are not represented outside a particular subgroup can be proved neither as shared innovations nor as shared retentions. Hence their use as only, secondary evidence, not primary.

Although this is not the place to evaluate in detail Southworth's evaluation of the Dravidian data on subgroupings, the following points must be noted.

1. He rejects the validity of many isoglosses simply because the feature in question is not found in one or two languages (P. 118, (E), 119 (G.) it is found also in Kota-Toda). Can't it be due to loss at a later stage?
2. If there is any isogloss that cannot be rejected for any other reason, his obsession with diffusion makes him to attribute it to that phenomenon (see for example, P. 119 (H) P. 120 (B); the most incredible instance is the case of dental non-past suffix in Central Dravidian (P 121. (F)).
3. Because he is not a Dravidianist, he always has to go by what others say, cf, his suspicion regarding the contrast between *ya- and *e-in Proto-Dravidian and his failure to note that Telugu-Kuvi oblique bases 1st sg. nā-, 1st pl(excl.) mā-, 2nd sg. nā-, 2nd pl. mī- developed through metathesis of *an-a, *am-a, *in-a and *im-a respectively (PP. 121-122 (g)).

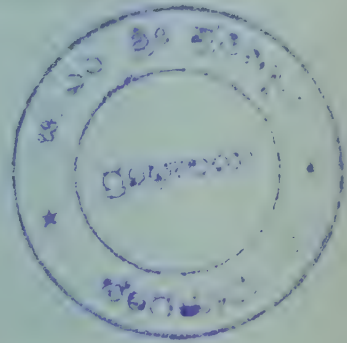
In view of the above remarks, Southworth's conclusion that there is no single innovation that provides adequate evidence either for South Dravidian (with or without Tulu) or for Central Dravidian is not acceptable. The alternative he suggests is: ".....apart from NDr., at least seven groups were involved: (1) Kolami-Naiki-Parji- Godaba, (2) Kui-Kuvi-Konda- Pengo-Manḍa, (3) Gonḍi-Telugu, (4) Tulu (5) Kannaḍa, (6) Toda-Kota and (7) Tamil-Malayalam-Koḍigu." (1976:131). After being highly critical of of the evidence produced by Dravidianists, Southworth arrived at the above conclusion on very meagre (only five isoglosses) and highly questionable evidence. Leaving every thing aside, one will wonder at the evidence Southworth produced to establish Gondi and Telugu as an exclusive subgroup.

Among the five innovations considered by him, A (loss of causative with (N) PP Suffix) and B (simplification of the allomorphy of the past tense marker) can be independent developments in individual languages or they may be due to diffusion. D(formation of personal pronouns with an initial n, ñ or m in SDr. and Telugu-Kuvi) cannot be a shared innovation because in SDr. they are analogical to the corresponding plural forms while, in Telugu-Kuvi, they are formed on the analogy of the oblique bases. Uniform reconstruction in this case is implausible, as already shown by me elsewhere. Diffusion within the subgroups can also be a possible source C(addition of a dental to negative non-finite forms) unites Tulu with other SDr. languages although this is not acceptable to Southworth. E(variation of adjective marker *a/*i) alone is the only cogent shared innovation.

5. The Indian Linguistic Area

"Language and linguistic area" by Emeneau (1980a) in which 15 of his articles are included, is the major publication in this branch of study. Since Emeneau is the person who did solid scientific work in this branch, this volume which collects all his work in one place is of great help to scholars. He has also written four more articles (1987, f. a. f. c., f. d.), on this subject in recent times. Natarajan (1977) notes that the concord between an adjective and the head noun for gender and number in Gondi is due to Indo-Aryan influence. e g.

persōr māynāl	'a big man'
persūr māynālīr	'big men'
persā marā	'big tree'
persāñ marāk	'big trees'



6. New Descriptive Materials

There have appeared a number of publications and theses in recent times on tribal languages as well as some the classical texts of the four literary languages. The evidence provided by them has to be utilized for comparative Dravidian studies. The new evidence will throw further light on and give a boost to comparative Dravidian studies. Emeneau's Toda grammar and texts (1984) is the best among the grammar of tribal languages we have both in analysis and in the mass of data presented. We now have access to the full and reliable data on Toda through this work. Steever (1985a, b) reviewed it in two places. The following are the other recent works on tribal languages: Balakrishnan (1976, 1977) on Kodagu, Bhaskara Rao (1980) on Konekor Gadaba, Chidambaranatha Pillai (1976, 1978) on Kasaba, Israel (1979) on Kuvi, Mahapatra (1979) on Malto, Natanasabapathi (1986) on Kaṭṭunaicka, Natarajan (1985) on the Abhujmaria dialect of Gonḍi, Perialwar (1978a, b) on Irula, Ramakrishna Shetty (1986) on Tulu, Sakthivel (1976, 1977) on Toda, Subbaiah (1985) on Kota, Subbaiah Sarma (1987) on the Koya dialect of Gonḍi, Thomasaiah (1976) on Naikṛi and Umamaheswara Rao (1977) on Gonḍi dialects. A grammar of Kota utilizing the voluminous texts published long ago by Emeneau is still a desideratum. Similarly, Kuṛukh also is badly in need of a description according to modern linguistic principles.

Ramachandra Rao (1972) gives a thorough description of Pampa Bharata, which is an important work of Old Kannaḍa. The approach adopted in this work in listing all the

archaic forms under the relevant sections is laudable; it serves the purpose in describing the language of classical works and must be adopted by other scholars writing grammars of classical texts.

The Sangam literature, which is the oldest literature not only for Tamil but for the entire Dravidian family, contains a very rich material on Old Tamil and as such is invaluable for Dravidian studies. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar in his short but excellent papers, introduced the salient features of Tamil preserved in these works to Dravidian scholars. The International School of Dravidian Linguistics must undertake the reprinting of all the publications of this great scholar in one or two volumes. What is needed more is the preparation of grammars in great detail for each of the works of the Sangam period. Agesthialingom (1979) attempted to describe Old Tamil with special reference to *Patirruppattu*. Unfortunately the body of this work does not justify either the title or the cost of the art paper used for printing. The work does not include noun morphology for unknown reasons; the phonology part and the spacing in the index part could have been reduced to a great extent and the space thus saved could have been utilised for including the noun morphology. Apart from this, this work suffers from a very large number of misprints, repetitions and even self-contradictory statements. For example, the suffix -um is rightly treated as a non-past suffix on pp 178-179 but it is again given as a personal ending (cf. pp. 198-189, 206, 214, 219). In some places the analysis leaves much to be desired and, as a result, will mislead persons not already having sufficient knowledge of Tamil. For example, on p 187, -kum, -tum, -ṭum and -rum are listed as 1st person plural personal endings. These can be easily segmented as non-past tense marker (-k-, -t- (with variants -ṭ- and -r-)) plus the real personal ending -um.

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- (f. b.) Proto-Dravidian *c- and its developments.
- (f. c.) Rats, mice, and other small rodents in the Indian linguistic area.
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CENTRE AND PERIPHERY: THE COMPOSITION OF KAMBAN'S LANGUAGE

A. Govindankutty
University of Leiden

Tamil belongs to the rare group of languages, which has a continuous documented history: ancient, medieval and modern. This exceptional condition helps us to trace the process of linguistic development and disappearance. The language of any particular century in the history of Tamil is not a static entity of that specific period. On the other hand, it is the product of all those processes of change; it is the end-result of the developments which took place in the earlier centuries. As a result of this, as in the social sciences, we find different layers of affixes, some of which once had important functions and later became defunct.

The descriptive methods identify the suffixes and the historical method tries to trace the course of change. This *qualitative* analysis of the constituents of language, though helpful, does not give a complete picture of the language. "A complete knowledge of linguistic reality cannot be achieved without combining the *qualitative* analysis of its constituents with that of their *quantitative* relationships". (B. Trnka and others. *A Prague School Reader in Linguistics* (1964), p. 479). The descriptive synchronous study does not deal with static, homogeneous material. "On the contrary, at any moment in its development a language system displays items that are on the point of disappearance, and conversely items that are only just being born into it. In other words, any language system has, besides its solid central core, its periphery, which need not be in complete accordance with the laws and tendencies governing its central core" (Vachek, J. *The Linguistic School of Prague* (1966), p. 27). "The non-balanced state of the language system is a natural and necessary consequence of the non-static character of language" (Ibid, p. 13). Centre and periphery concern a certain aspect of the

relation between the units (of various ranks) of the language system and this system taken as a whole, or generally, of the relation of lower rank units to those of a higher rank, or in other words, the structure of complex systemic units (Ibid. p. 9). Central and peripheral features are determined not only on the basis of frequency but also on the basis of the relationship of a particular element with the other elements and types of oppositions (Ibid. p. 23).

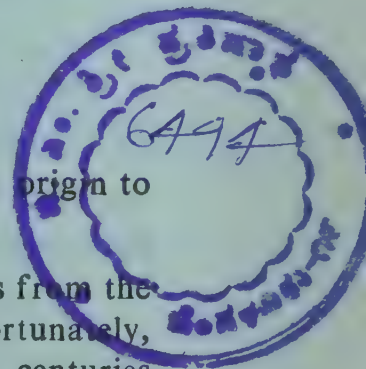
The "opposition" of centre and periphery often manifest in the following oppositions :

1. quantitatively strong types vs quantitatively weak types
 2. productive types vs unproductive types
 3. "full" or "normal" types vs "defective" types
 4. "integrated" type vs "non-integrated" types.
- (Ibid. p. 71).

The theoretical background outlined above owes its origin to the Prague Linguistic School.

The linguistic material for the present analysis comes from the Ramayana of Kamban (ca. 12th century A. D.). Fortunately, enough details of Old Tamil, belonging to the first three centuries are also available. One of the many questions raised during the analysis of the language of Kamban was: whether is it enough to plot the distribution of various variants of morpheme or is it necessary to show the mutual or sequential relationship of the variants. For example, following the pure descriptive methods, all the pronominal endings having a common meaning are grouped as allomorphs of one morpheme on the basis of their distribution. But, is it possible to get a complete picture of Kamban's language through this method? Some of the pronominal endings are positional variants whereas the others belong to various strata of the history of the Tamil language. Therefore, an attempt was made to group the positional variants under one category and the others with different phonemic make-ups under different categories. The validity and usefulness of this method are also complemented by the statistical details regarding the frequency of various suffixes. Such an operation shifted out the central and peripheral features of the language of Kamban.

Thanks to the fore-sight and hard work of the then Heads of the Tamil and Linguistics departments of the Kerala University, linguistic descriptions of many of our Sangam classics are now available. Though the basis of my present paper is the Ramayana



of Kamban, I have also made comparisons with Akananuru and Kuruntokai to study the *quantitative shift* which is a symptom of a linguistic change. One of the favourable conditions for applying the statistical method is the "vastness" of the corpus. The presence of more than ten thousand verses of four lines each, is conducive to this type of analysis. As far as *Akananuru* and *Kuruntokai* are concerned, the corpus is relatively smaller.

In the present paper, the study of centre and periphery is restricted to the following three topics :

1. pronominal suffixes in the finite verbs (e.g. vantān), conjugated nouns (e.g. vantavan) and appellative conjugated nouns (e.g. kaiyan).
2. four groups of conjugated nouns (e.g. vantān, vantavan, vantōr and varātān or vantār, varātavar, varātōr and varātār).
3. conditional suffixes -in/-il (e.g. varin/varil), -āl (e.g. vantāl) and ēl/ēn (e.g. vantānē/ēn).

Pronominal suffixes: First person singular.

The two interesting types are -en/-ēn and -al/-an.

Kamban	-e <u>n</u>	-ē <u>n</u>	-a <u>l</u>	-a <u>n</u>
appellatives	9	52	x	11
finite verbs	180	313	45	189
Kuruntokai				
appellatives	2	7	x	x
finite verbs	19	23	7	4
Akananuru				
finite verbs	28	24	11	6

2. First person plural

The three interesting types are :

-em/-ēm, -am/-ām and ōm

Kamban	-e <u>m</u>	-ē <u>m</u>	-a <u>m</u>	-ā <u>m</u>	-ō <u>m</u>
appellatives	x	15	9	x	6
finite verbs	7	33	46	50	34
Kuruntokai					
appellatives	x	2	4	x	x
finite verb	3	12	22	14	x
Akananuru					
finite verb	2	11	57	6	x

In the Sangam period -am/-aam was central and -em/-eem was peripheral. Whereas in the period of Kamban, the relative importance of -am/-aam has become lesser and the peripheral category -oom tries to get integrated into the core of the language. However, the appellatives are not much affected by this transition.

3. Second Person Singular

The two interesting types are: -ai and -aay

Kamban	-ai	-aay
appellatives	27	16
finite verb	200	267
Kuruntokai		
appellatives	8	x
finite verb	24	4
Akananuru		
finite verb	50	22

The table above shows a clear quantitative shift from -ai to -āy. The sangam texts have -ai as centre and āy as periphery while the language of Kamban reflects a shift towards -āy as far as the finite verbs are concerned and the appellatives retain the old Sangam feature. *The transition affects the finite verbs quicker than the appellatives.*

II. The four groups of conjugated nouns

The study of the conjugated nouns is useful for understanding the central and peripheral types as well as for our knowledge of the changes involving the pronominal suffixes of the conjugated nouns.

On the basis of grammatical features, four types of conjugated nouns can be identified in the language of Kamban. The first type resembles a finite verb in structure and form. Moreover, unlike a finite verb, it is capable of taking a case suffix.

e.g. kaṇṭaan 'he who saw'
kāṇāṇ 'he who will not see'

The second type resembles a construction of a relative participle followed by a pronominal suffix.

e.g. kaṇṭavan 'he who saw'
kāṇātavan 'he who did not see'

The third type of conjugated nouns is distinguished by the feature -oo- in the pronominal suffixes.

e.g. kaṇṭōṇ 'he who saw'
kāṇātōṇ 'he who did not see'

The fourth type of conjugated nouns has the distinctive feature of the negative suffix *-aat-* followed immediately by a pronominal suffix other than the *-oo-* types, e.g. *-oon*, *ool*, *-oor*, *-ooy*.

e.g. *kāṇān* 'he who did not see'

when there are more constituents to fulfil the same function and when there are different unbalanced systems operating next to each other, a quantitative description of the above conjugated nouns may contribute to a better understanding of the language of Kamban. Therefore the frequency of the four types and the share of each, are given below :

Type I	3907	78.834%	<i>kaṇṭān</i>
Type II	759	15.315%	<i>kaṇṭavan</i>
Type III	182	3.672%	<i>kaṇṭōn</i>
Type IV	108	2.179%	<i>kāṇātān</i>
Total	<u>4956</u>	<u>100.000%</u>	

The peripheral role of the pronominal suffixes with the vowel *-oo-*, which we see in the third type, is also apparent from the appellatives like *kaiyōn* 'he who (has) hands'. The Sangam texts *Akananuru* and *Kuṇṭokai* also reflect the same central and peripheral features.

The third and the last topic which we propose to discuss deal with the conditional suffixes *-in/-il*, *-āl* and *-eel/-een*. Below are given the frequency of ten conditional verbal forms collected from the *Ramayana* of Kamban :

1. <i>tarin</i>	2	<i>taril</i>	x	<i>tantāl</i>	2
2. <i>varin</i>	13	<i>varil</i>	x	<i>vantāl</i>	8
3. <i>collin</i>	6	<i>collil</i>	1	<i>conṇāl</i>	2
				<i>collināl</i>	1
4. <i>kāṇin</i>	9	<i>kāṇil</i>	x	<i>kāṇṭāl</i>	25
5. <i>unnin</i>	2	<i>unnil</i>	x	<i>uṇṭāl</i>	4
6. <i>eytin</i>	9	<i>eytil</i>	x	<i>eytināl</i>	2
7. <i>ceyyin</i>	3	<i>ceyyil</i>	x	<i>ceytāl</i>	8
8. <i>katappin</i>	x	<i>katappil</i>	x	<i>kaṭantāl</i>	6
9. <i>karutin</i>	3	<i>karutil</i>	x	<i>karutināl</i>	2
10. <i>enin</i>	226	<i>enil</i>	32	<i>enrāl</i>	141

Apart from *-in/ il* and *-aal*, there are 211 occurrences of *-eel* and sixty occurrences of *-een*. As against these numbers, it is necessary to look at the Sangam classics to understand the quantitative shift.

Kuṟuntokai has 65 conditional forms with the suffix *-iṇ*, and Akananūṟu shows 59 forms with *-iṇ* and five forms with *-il*.

The central feature of Sangam Tamil, as far as the examined texts are concerned, is the conditional suffix *-iṇ*. The language of Kamban emphasizes the transitional nature because it not only retains the classical central feature to a large extent but also shows the increasing shift towards the suffix *-aal* and the use of *eel/een*. The change of shift and the direction of the shift is heralded in the 4th and the 7th words listed above, i.e. *kāṇiṇ/kaṇṭāl* and *ceyyiṇ/ceytāl*.

The complicated and heterogeneous reality of the language of Kamban can be made clearer by the quantitative method. The existence of certain hierarchy within a system is manifested in the imbalance of the constituents in quantity and interrelationship. The central and the peripheral systems co-exist and in spite of the integrating processes, a number of anomalous features of the system continues to remain as residues. The dynamics of the language of Kamban lies in the continuous transition which joins centre and periphery. Our enthusiasm should be guarded with caution because the text of Kamban is not devoid of textual variations and the great poet is well-known for his creativity.

Appendix

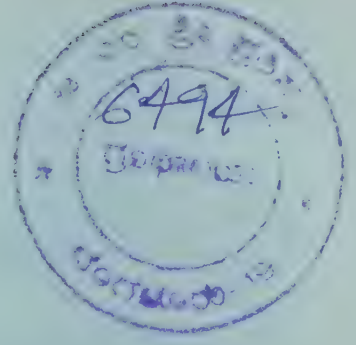
The “productivity” of the *procedes* in the language of Kamban is not based on the user’s possibility to form uncountable new members of a category through a morphological process. Because we have to deal with a text of the 12th century, our idea of productivity is based on the countability of the members of a category.

The present linguistic study is based on the text edited and published by Vai. Mu Gopalakrishnamachariyar, published between 1948 and 1955.

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PANINI'S TREATMENT OF KĀRAKA: A PROBE INTO HIS ANALYTICAL PROCEDURE (PART ONE: APĀDĀNA)

Jag Deva Singh

Grammar Engine Inc. Westerville, Ohio

1. To describe structural patterns in a language, a linguist has to have available to him appropriate and adequate linguistic data. He does not dream his grammar; nor does it dawn on him unobtrusively in his moments of contemplation. His findings are always and necessarily based on linguistic facts gathered from field, sifted and analysed; usually more than once. He may need to replenish his data time and again before he can be reasonably sure of structural patterns. One can comprehend and appreciate structural description of a language better, if he has access to the data on which a linguist bases his formulations.

In our study of Pāṇini we are handicapped by lack of data recorded in his grammar. Here we are presented with final products of his efforts, a body of structural statements. However an attempt can be made to reconstruct comparable data from linguistic elements mentioned in his statements, explicitly or implicitly, and from various illustrative examples handed down to us by his ancient commentators. Supportive illustrations may be gleaned from ancient literature, though not an easy task to undertake.

Here we propose to study his treatment of kārakas, a very significant segment of his grammar relating to syntactic structures. It is our attempt to figure out what kāraka signifies, a term not defined formally by him; to make clear why there are only six varieties of it; to explain why nominal stems are designated as kāraka and to work out what analytical procedure he follows in determining various kārakas,

It is a truism that each structural statement is intended to explicate certain linguistic data. Our endeavor here is, thus, to gather comparable data to serve as premises to understand formulation and meanings of these statements. We try to work our way backwards.

2. What is *kāraka*?

The term *kāraka* is used in Pāṇini as a technical term (cf 237; 3319, 5442 etc.). It is introduced in 1423. Under it are described six varieties of it in 1424-55.

We learn from this description that nominal stems co-occurring with verbal stems as specified here are *kāra*kas. Consider, for instance, the following constructions.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>aśvah dhāvati</i> | 'the horse runs'. |
| (2) <i>aśvam ārohati</i> | 'he mounts the horse'. |
| (3) <i>aśvāya ghāsam dehi</i> | 'give some fodder to the horse' |
| (4) <i>aśvena grāmam vāti</i> | 'he goes to the village on a horse'. |
| (5) <i>aśvāt avarohati</i> | 'he alights from the horse'. |
| (6) <i>aśve tiṣṭhati</i> | 'he sits on the horse'. |

In all these constructions according to Pāṇini, *aśva* 'a horse' is a *kāraka* of one sort or the other – *kartā* in (1); *kārama* in (2) and so on. But that is a subsequent story. First we have to establish *kāraka*-hood of *aśva*. What does it mean to say that *aśva* is *kāraka*? What is the feature shared by *aśva* in all its occurrences in the above constructions? Pāṇini does *not* answer this question. He straightway makes use of the term to denote nominal stems such as *aśva* without telling us what distinguishing feature marks it off. Let us try to understand what it means as a technical term.

One can readily concede that in writing up his grammar Pāṇini does not work with nominal and verbal stems as mere lexical items, speculating of syntactic relations between them. Bare stems in isolation do not contract syntactic relations. To be related structurally, lexical items have to be constituents of some linguistic constructions as found in actual use among members of a speech community. Pāṇini's account of *kāra*kas is, thus, securely based on systematic analysis of real language data. To understand what he means by *kāraka*, we may examine syntactic behaviour of nominal and verbal stems in linguistic constructions.

Take, for instance, the following sentence.

- (7) *sarastīre bakaḥ eka-padena sukhena tiṣṭhati*

'there stands with ease on the bank of a pond a crane on one leg'.

Here there are *five* syntactic units, called Padas, constituting the utterance. Of these *bakah*; *sarastīre*; *eka-padena* and *sukhena* are nominal forms. These are not related among themselves. However all of these are related directly with the verbal form *tiṣṭhati*. Their relationships with the verbal form differ among themselves significantly. We may examine these a little more closely.

In the first place, 'performance' of the action of 'standing' cannot be conceived without its being related to *bakah*; *sarastīre*, and *eka-padena* which respectively answer the questions: who stands?; where does it stand? and with what means does it stand? Mention of all of these expressions, explicitly or implicitly, is required to constitute the construction. 'Things' denoted by these forms help 'actualize' performance of action of 'standing' indicated by the verbal form. Linguistic relationship of such nominal forms with the verbal one is unique in as much as without their association action denoted by the verb form does not get accomplished at all.

On the other hand, in contradistinction to this type of relationship, consider the relationship of *sukhena*, another nominal form, with *tiṣṭhati*. The nominal form here simply tells us about 'the manner' the act is being performed. It answers the question: how does the crane stand? It stands 'at ease; comfortably'. It neither helps nor prevents 'actualization' of performance of the action.

Consider a few more examples.

- (8) *devadattaḥ divasam vedān adhīte*
'devadatta studies the vedas during the day uninterruptedly'.
- (9) *yajñadattaḥ adhyayanena kāśyām vasati*
'yajnadatta resides in kashi for the purpose of studying'.
- (10) *dyutakāraḥ mūtrapadena gṛhāt niragacchat*
'the gambler slipped away from home under the pretext of urinating'.

In (8) *devadattaḥ* and *vedān* related to *adhīte* tell us respectively who studies and what. Performance of the 'act of studying' cannot be imagined in its entirety without their mention. The expression *divasam* gives information as to how the act of studying proceeds - the whole day. The action continues even if this expression is not used. Again in (9) *yajñadattaḥ* and *kaśyām* denote 'performer' and 'locale' of the action. Successful performance of action entails their participation. The expression *adhyayanena*

talks of the 'purpose' of residing as 'studying'. It has little to do with the accomplishment of the action. Likewise in (10) the nominal forms *dyutakāraḥ* and *grhāt* as related with *niragacchat* tell us respectively of 'who' slipped away and 'from where', while *mūtrapadena*, on the other hand, speaks of the 'reason' of slipping away. Obviously it does not contribute anything toward consummation of the action.

Here two types of relationships may be distinguished between nominal and verbal forms: one, where nominal forms help 'actualize' performance of action denoted by verbal forms and two, where nominal forms have no such roles to play. The former type may be called *kāraka* and the latter as non-*kāraka* for want of any other name. Formal distinctions in inflected nominal forms imply that *kāraka* relations are of different types.

3. Role of Inflection in *kāraka* Relations

In our discussion above we have proceeded on the assumption that syntactic relations obtain between nominal and verbal inflected forms. This proposition needs to be examined further. An inflected form is constituted of two elements, namely stem and inflectional suffix. We may look into their respective roles in determining syntactic relations.

Let us go back to the example in (7). We may consider the verbal form first. It consists of *sthā* 'to stand', a verbal root and the suffix *ti* denoting 3rd person singular, active voice and present tense. The verbal form may be replaced by any one of the forms such as *atiṣṭhat*, *asthāt*, *taṣṭhau* all meaning 'it stood'; *sthāsyati* 'it will stand'. *tiṣṭhet* 'it may stand' etc. We find that such replacements do not bring about any corresponding reallignment in syntactic relation with nominal forms. The relationship remain intact.

Now consider change of vibhakti suffixes in nominal forms. For instance, if *sarastīre* is replaced by any such form as *sarstīram*, *sarastīreṇa* et. made from the stem *sarastīra*, its relation with *tiṣṭhati* is snapped altogether. Likewise any change of vibhakti in *bakaḥ* etc. results in disruption of relationship with the verbal form. The construction itself becomes incoherent and unacceptable.

Thus syntactic relations, *kāraka* or non-*kāraka*, are *not* dependent on verb inflection. But, on the other hand, any change in nominal vibhakti type either extinguishes the relationship or alters its nature (though in very rare cases). Syntactic relationships are *sensitive* to *nominal* suffixes and *not* to verbal ones.

4. What are Structural Implications of This ?

One obvious implication is that it *cannot* be maintained that syntactic relations exist between nominal and verbal inflected forms, the position we assumed in our discussion earlier. Nor can it be maintained that these obtain between inflected nominal forms and verbal stems for the simple reason that these two belong to two different levels of linguistic structure. One is a simple stem while the other is more than a stem, an inflected form. The inescapable conclusion, therefore, is that *syntactic relations obtain between nominal and verbal stems*. The role of nominal inflections, then, is to mark or manifest these relationships.

As a corollary of this it may be held that *number* of kāraka relations in the language would *not* exceed that of inflectional types which are just *seven*. Since one of these, namely the 6th vibhakti primarily denotes non-kāraka relations between nominal stems and marginally such kāraka relations which are indicated by other vibhakti types, only *six* kāraka relations are postulated by Pāṇini.

5. Nominal Stems are kāraka

There is another important issue which may be considered here. The kāraka is essentially one type of syntactic relationship. It exists between nominal and verbal stems as shown above. For its consummation both are equally important. One is intrigued as to what motivates Pāṇini to designate this relationship by one of the partners i.e. nominal stems.

It is true that no issue of theoretical nature is involved here. It is simply setting up a sort of convention. In such matters linguist's convenience is supreme. The term kāraka could have been used to denote the type of syntactic *relation* described above between nominal and verbal stems or it may designate *one* of the linguistic elements participating in this relationship. Pāṇini chooses to call *nominal* stems as kāraka. Presumably the following considerations might have weighed with him.

(i) Nominal stems are considered more than equal partners in kāraka relationship for the reason that these are the carriers of the primary grammatical feature characterizing kāraka relationship, namely vibhakti suffixes. Nominal stems serve as necessary props to which these are tagged.

(ii) Nominal stems are ubiquitous in their pragmatic roles which help 'actualize' different aspects of action denoted by verbal stems co-occurring with them. For instance, *aśva* 'a horse' is

capable of exhibiting various roles in relation to different actions denoted by verbal stems occurring with it in constructions (1-6) given above. Such roles are inconceivable in case of verbal stems.

(iii) Labelling nominal stems participating in the type of syntactic relationship called *kāraka* as *kāraka* and those groups of stems that partake in a particular *kāraka* after the designation of that *kāraka*, the term *kāraka* in his system serves as a convenient label for nominal stems in general that participate in syntactic relationship distinguished as *kāraka* as opposed to one called non-*kāraka*. And so are *apādāna*, *karāṇa* etc. for those groups of stems that partake in these particular types. Perhaps there is no other practical way of referring to these stems short of listing them. A few examples are discussed below to show how use of these terms allows him to capture generalizations in structured statements and consequent economy in their formulation.

Consider the statement *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* (3319). The suffix *ghañ = a* comes after a verbal stem (to form a derivative) in the sense of *saṃjñā* (= a common noun in specific meaning other than suggested by its etymology) denoting *kāraka* relations other than *kartā* (with the stem from which it is derived). The statement describes formation of nominal stems from verbal stems by adding the suffix *ghañ = a* to them. The derivatives thus formed denote various *kāraka* relations vis-a-vis the verbal stems from which these are derived. For instance, *prāsa* 'a spear' is derived from the verbal stem *pra-as* 'to throw'. It is assumed to have *karma kāraka* relation with the stem *pra-as*. The hypothetical underlying structure *prāsyanti tam* 'they throw it', posited here, brings out this relationship. The pronominal form *tam* in the underlying structure stands for *prāsa* which is yet to be formed. The point is that Pāṇini employs the term *kāraka* in his structural statement to denote derivative nominal stems like *prāsa* which are supposed to indicate various *kāraka* relations vis-a-vis verbal stems these are derived from.

The nominal stem *rāga* derived from *rañj* 'to dye' by adding the same suffix denotes *karāṇa* relation. It means 'something with which one dyes (something else) i.e. color'. And *prapāta* derived from *pra-pat* 'to fall from' denotes *apādāna kāraka* meaning 'something from which (one) falls down i.e. a precipice'. Again in *karmaṇyaṇ* (321), the term *karma* denotes nominal stems indicating *karma kāraka* relation with verbal stems occurring with them. The statement is designed to explicate structure of nominal stems like *kumbha-kāra* from the underlying structure like *kumbham karoti* 'he is making a pot'. The suffix *aṇ = a* is added to *kr* 'to do' which

holds karma kāraka relation with *kumbha* 'a pot'. A nominal stem *kāra* is thus formed in the meaning 'one who makes'. Now the two constituents representing the underlying structure are compounded obligatorily to give the form *kumbha-kāra* 'a maker of pots i.e. a potter'.

Use of kāraka, kartā or karma in the statements referred to above stand for groups of nominal stems denoting specific kāraka relations with respective verbal stems. Perhaps one may not be able to think of any other alternative of referring to nominal stems participating in such constructions.

6. Constraints on Co-occurrence

This brings us to the question what nominal and verbal stems *can* go together in a construction denoting particular kāraka relation. These do not occur promiscuously. Take a simple sentence, say, the following.

(11) *mṛgaḥ dhāvati* 'the deer runs'.

It is an acceptable sentence. The stems *mṛga* and *dhāv* enjoy syntactic compatibility. Each of these may also pair with other stems. *mṛga*, for instance, can occur with *dru* 'to run'; *vi-car* 'to move about'; *khād* 'to eat'; *pā* 'to drink' etc., but certainly *not* with *adhi-i* 'to study' *man* 'to think', *div* 'to play gamble', *nard* 'to roar', *vad* 'to speak' etc. Similarly *dhāv* may go with *śiṣu* 'a child', *sūkara* 'a boar', *vyāghra* 'a tiger' etc. but *not* with *sthūṇa* 'a pillar', *danta* 'a tooth', *sūrya* 'sun', *vāta* 'wind', *śuka* 'a parrot' etc. Thus in the following constructions the same kāraka relation persists between various pairs of nominal and verbal stem.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (12) <i>mṛgaḥ vicarati</i> | 'the deer moves about'. |
| (13) <i>mṛgaḥ khādati</i> | 'the deer grazes'. |
| (14) <i>śiṣuḥ dhāvati</i> | 'the child runs'. |
| (15) <i>sūkaraḥ dhāvati</i> | 'the boar runs'. |
| (16) <i>vyāghraḥ dhāvati</i> | 'the tiger runs'. |

Now consider the following

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| (17) <i>mṛgaḥ adhīte</i> | 'the deer studies'. |
| (18) <i>mṛgaḥ nardati</i> | 'the deer roars'. |
| (19) <i>mṛgaḥ dīvyati</i> | 'the deer plays dice'. |
| (20) <i>sthūṇaḥ dhāvati</i> | 'the pillar runs'. |
| (21) <i>śukaḥ dhāvati</i> | 'the parrot runs'. |
| (22) <i>vātaḥ dhāvati</i> | 'the wind runs'. |

Although formally these are structured like the examples under (1), but *no* *kāraka* relation is contracted between these pairs. In other words such pairs *lack* something that does *not* allow them to go together. Thus such constructions do not get started at all.

It may be said in a general way that only those stems go together which share some feature, grammatical or otherwise, significant syntactically. One has to work out for each pair or group of pairs what such features are.

It may be pointed out that members in a co-occurring pair may share a set of features in one construction and another set in another, thus, denoting more than one *kāraka* relations. For instance, *vrkṣa* 'a tree' and *pat* 'to fall' are found to co-occur in the following.

- (23) *vrkṣaḥ patati* 'The tree falls down'.
- (24) *vrkṣāt parṇāni patanti* 'Leaves fall from the tree'.
- (25) *vrkṣe varṣā-bindavaḥ patanti* 'the rain-drops fall on the tree'.

In each of these constructions *vrkṣa* and *pat* are related differently *kāraka*-wise and features in which the two are compatible differ in each case. Their co-occurrence in any case is determined in terms of features shared by them whatever these may be.

From the above discussion it seems that any description of a *kāraka* necessarily involves identification of (i) stem pairs and (ii) features shared by them. Let us see how *pāṇini* deals with this question.

Pāṇini *does* describe in detail what stem pairs occur together in each *kāraka* type. He stops at that. He does *not* describe in so many words why stems in a pair go together or what features characterize co-occurrence between them. The way he deals with the problem may be stated as follows.

From an analysis of linguistic data he distinguishes syntactic relations between nominal and verbal stems into two types, namely *kāraka* and non-*kāraka*. *Kāraka* relations are further sorted out in six types. Pairs in each type are assorted into one or more sets on the basis of their co-occurrence preferences or constraints. These sets for each *kāraka* are described in 1424-55. His statements, though based on observation of facts in the linguistic data examined by him, limited in quantity, are being worded in generalized terms. These go beyond such data. Unique stems, on the other hand, are listed as such. His organization of stem pairs in the way he does is obviously designed to integrate it into his overall design of mechanism capable of producing various constructions in the language. A

search for bases of their co-occurrence is of little avail to him for this end. For this reason perhaps he does *not* go into the question of constraints on co-occurrence of nominal and verbal stem pairs as such. Features, linguistic or non-linguistic, linking pairs in a set described in structural statements can be easily worked out.

7. Analytical Procedure to Determine kāraka Types

Nominal inflections, as shown above, play crucial role in characterizing kāraka relations. As a first step, one plausible and fruitful line of approach to determine nature and types of kāraka relations, thus, may seem to be to consider simplex constructions with nominal stems ending in a particular vibhakti type. Thus we come to gather an indefinite number of stem pairs marked uniquely with a formal feature, namely occurrence of the same vibhakti type. This cannot be brushed aside as accidental. Rather it strongly suggests of a common syntactic bond between all such pairs.

In the next step we may proceed to probe this assumption further by adding more data including complex structures. We may ask such questions as: Do these pairs share features, grammatical or otherwise, in other grammatical environments also? In other words, we propose to examine their overall grammatical behaviour at all levels of structure. If this group is found to hold together and displays consistency in its behaviour in different structural environments, we have legitimate and adequate grounds to recognize sameness of kāraka relation between all such pairs.

We might even go a step further and claim that sharing of vibhakti suffix alone by a group of pairs could be a reasonable basis for assuming identical kāraka relation between them if such an assumption does not militate against any other well established kāraka relation. There is nothing odd about it theoretically or pragmatically since vibhakti suffix is a *sine qua non* of realization of kāraka relation.

Pāṇini's analytical procedure for determining kāraka relations, as outlined above, is simple and straight forward based on a close scrutiny of linguistic data. It hardly involves any abstruse and subtle assumptions of philosophical and metaphysical nature. It appears to be all common sense.

7. apādāna kāraka : Formal Characterization

(a) As an illustration of the simple procedure outlined above, we may proceed to examine constructions where nominal stems

end in the 5th vibhakti type. Consider the following sentences. (All examples are from the Mbh. on 1423 etc.)

- (26) *vṛkṣāt parṇam patati*, 'the leaf falls from the tree'.
 (27) *grāmād āgacchati śakaṭena*,
 'the comes in a cart from the village'.
 (28) *dharmād viramati*, 'he stops practising dharma'.
 (29) *vṛkebhyo bibheti*, 'he is scared of the wolves'.
 (30) *dasubhyas trāyate*, 'he protects (him) from robbers'.
 (31) *adhyayanāt prājayate*, 'he is overcome by study'.
 (32) *Māṣebhyo gā vārayati*, 'he wards off the cows from beans'.
 (33) *upādhyāyād antardhatte*, 'he hides himself from the teacher'.
 (34) *gomayād vṛściko jāyate*, 'the scorpion is born of cowdung'.
 (35) *himavato gaṅgā prabhavati*,
 'the Ganges originates from the Himalayas'.

Such constructions, as illustrated above, provide us with numerous pairs of co-occurring nominal and verb stems. All of these share a common formal feature, namely occurrence of the 5th vibhakti type with nominal stems. This does *not* seem to be a chance coincidence. The formal property exhibited by nominal stems rather points to a significant structural implication. We are most probably dealing here with a distinct construction type based on sameness of *kārika* relation between these pairs.

(b) A further scrutiny of data happily reveals that the 5th vibhakti with nominal stems, whatever the number it denotes, alternates freely with the suffix *tas*. Thus for (26) we may optionally have the following construction in the same meaning.

- (36) *vṛkṣataḥ parṇam patati*
 In the sentence below *hīnataḥ* may stand for *hīnāt* or *hīnebhyah* etc.
 (37) *na hīnataḥ param abhyādadīta* (mb 1.82.11)
 'the one should not extort the upmost from the lowly'.

Pāṇini, however, notices two exceptions here. Nominal stems occurring with the roots *hā* 'to abandon' and *ruh* 'to grow' do not replace 5th vibhakti with the suffix *tas*. In such sentences as given below only the 5th vibhakti is found (5445).

- (38) *sārthād ava-hīyate pānthaḥ*
 'the traveller strays away from the caravan'.

(39) aīvād ava-rohati sainikah 'the soldier mounts down the horse'.

These exceptions do not refer to any structural regularity. These are simple isolated facts of linguistic usage.

Free variation of 5th vibhakti with the suffix *tas*, thus provides additional evidence in favour of the assumption that these pairs constitute a distinct structural group where a common syntactic relationship exists between them.

(c) Here is another grammatical property displayed by verb stems that occur with 5th vibhakti ending stems in a construction embedded in another. Consider the following :

(40) gṛhapatih śayyāyā utthāyam cauram anudhāvati
'the householder runs after the thief in all haste as soon as he gets up from his bed'.

Here the main clause is *gṛhapatih cauram anudhāvati* 'the householder runs after the thief'. The phrase *śayyāyā utthāyam* is a constituent embedded in it. It is derived from the underlying structure *saḥ śayyāyāḥ uttiṣṭhati* 'he gets up from his bed'. The verbal stem *up-sihā* 'to get up' occurs with the nominal *śayyā* 'a bed' here.

The main clause and the one embedded in it are related structurally. Both share the same kartā, agent, namely *gṛhapati*. Further, the action denoted by the stem *up-sthā* takes place in point of time prior to the one denoted by *anu-dhāv* 'to run after' (in the main clause). Whenever any two constructions meet these conditions these may be collapsed together. One alternative is that the suffix *tvā* (represented as *ktvā* lexically and alternating with *ya* = (lyap) in certain environments) comes after verbal stems showing prior action. Thus the sequence *gṛhapatih śayyāyāḥ uttiṣṭhati* (*tataḥ*) *gṛhapatih cauram anudhāvati* 'the householder gets up from his bed (then) the householder runs after the thief' is reduced to *gṛhapatih śayyāyāḥ utthāya cauram anudhāvati* after effecting necessary structural changes. This is the usual pattern of structural realignment as constructions related in the way stated above (3421).

But in case of verbal stems co-occurring with nominal stems ending in the 5th vibhakti and denoting prior action, the suffix *am* (lexically *ṇamul*) instead of *tvā* or its alternant *ya* is added provided action denoted by the verbal stem in the main clause is performed in 'hurry' (cf 3452). In the above construction, thus, replacing *ya* (alternant of *tvā*) by *am* we derive (40) in the meaning given above.

The nominal form ending in the 5th vibhakti may be optionally compounded with the verbal form ending in *am* (2221).

Thus optionally we have gr̥hapatiḥ śayyotthyāyam cauram anudhāvati.

Selection of *am* in place of *tvā* in specific environments is an exclusive property of verb stems co-occurring with stems ending in the 5th vibhakti. This adds further strength to the hypotheses that common kāraka relationship obtains between 5th vibhakti ending stems and verb stems occurring with them.

(d) Grammatical behaviour of unique verb stems occurring with 5th vibhakti ending stems additionally supports the above hypothesis.

(i) Pāṇini notices that the roots *añc* 'to go' and *pā* 'to protect' occurring in such constructions condition certain phonological changes. The change of initial *t* of the suffix *ta* and *tavat* to *n* after *añc* is blocked in these constructions. Note the following.

(41) tena kūpāt jalam ud-ak tam

(42) sah kūpāt jalam ud-ak tavān 'he drew water from the well'.

In other syntactic environments these suffixes occurring after *añc* show the change of *t* to *n* (8248). Note the following.

(43) śakuneḥ pādau sam-ak nau or sam-ak navantau

'the feet of the bird are bent down together'.

(ii) Again in the *chandas*, the *visarjanīya* in a nominal form ending in the 5th vibhakti diversely changes to *s* before a form made from the root *pā* 'to protect' (cf 8352), e.g. rajñah pātu is realized as rājñas pātu 'may he protect (us) from the king'.

(iii) Nominal stems *bhīma*, *sruva*, *bhūmi* etc. are treated as complex in structure being derived from the root *bhī* 'to fear'; *sru* 'to flow'; *bhū* 'to be, appear' etc. by adding the suffixes *ma*, *a*, *mi* etc. These stems belong to the class of stems which are related syntactically with nominal stems ending in the 5th vibhakti, e.g. *na bibheṣi kim mat-kopāt* 'aren't you afraid of my anger'; *netrābhyām aśrūṇi sravanti* 'tears flow from the eyes', etc.

In the derivation of these stems pāṇini appears to assume an underlying structure such as *asmāt bibheti* 'From which one fears' for instance, in case of *bhīma*. The derivative thus comes to denote an entity that causes fear'. pāṇini here equates *bhīma*, the derivative, with *kopa* in the underlying syntactic construction illustrated above. Similarly from the underlying structure *asmāt sravanti* 'from that flow'; is made *sruva* denoting entities 'from which something flows' i.e. 'a sacrificial ladle from which ghee flows into fire'; and from *tasmāt bhavati* 'from which emerge' the stem *bhūmi* from which things emerge i.e. earth'.

Conceptually it appears Pāṇini relates the roots with nominal stems *bhīma* etc. yet to be derived. The pronominal stem in the 5th vibhakti in the underlying structure is a dummy standing for the derivative itself. In these derivatives verbal stems and nominal stems in the underlying structure related syntactically with them are fused together, so to say. In any case derivation of *bhīma* etc. assumes that the suffix *ma* etc. are attached to *bhī* etc. only when these participate in a construction where nominal stems related syntactically with them take 5th vibhakti.

From a scrutiny of data consisting of constructions where one of the nominal stems end in the 5th vibhakti, Pāṇini comes to have numerous pairs of nominal and verbal stems related syntactically. Stems in these pairs are marked with formal features which are properties of either nominal or verbal stems. To recapitulate, nominal stems regularly take the 5th vibhakti suffix which may be replaced optionally by the suffix *tas*. Verbal stems on the other hand, select the suffix *am* in place of *tvā* in constructions embedded in others in specific environments; the verbal roots *añc* 'to go' and *pā* 'to protect' block or trigger phonological alternations and the roots *bhī* 'to fear' etc. select the suffixes *ma* etc. in forming nominal stems from them.

The formal properties found either with nominal or verbal stems set off these pairs as constituting a distinct and coherent group indicating sameness of syntactic relation between stems in a pair. The properties thus taken together are the defining characteristics of a common *kāraka* relation which may be designated by any term. Pāṇini however, chooses to call it *apādāna*. The term literally means 'taking off, moving away' being derived from *ap-ā-dā* 'to take off, remove' by adding the suffix *ana* (represented lexically *lyuṭ*). In Pāṇini the term refers to nominal stems only in these pairs for the reasons discussed earlier.

8. *apādāna* Distinguished from Other Stems Ending in the 5th vibhakti

The *apādāna* stems are to be distinguished from another set of nominal stems that also end in the 5th vibhakti suffixes, one of the characteristics of *apādāna* stems. Note the following constructions.

- (44) *stokād unnatim yāti* 'he acquires ascendancy for nothing'.
- (45) *prītir alpād bhidyate* 'love may be broken with trifling'.
- (46) *labdham kṛcchrād rakṣvate*
'what has been acquired is preserved with difficulty'.

- (47) *katipayāt śatrūn parājayate* 'he defeats the enemy with ease'.

The stems *stoka*, *alpa*, *kṛcchra* and *katipaya* form a small group of stems that take 5th vibhakti when related with verbal stems *yā* etc. as illustrated in the above constructions. These differ from *apādāna* stems in the following way.

(i) These stems denote quality or attribute rather than substance (*sattva*, *dravya*) in which qualities inhere. Of these *stoka* and *alpa* in general mean 'little'; *kṛcchra* 'difficult' and *katipaya* 'some'. These are described by Pāṇini as denoting non-substance (*a-sattva-vacana*) (2333).

It is in their use as non-substantives that these take 5th vibhakti which may alternate with the 3rd one. However, associated with substantives these take invariably only 3rd one in the types of constructions illustrated above. For instance, we may have *stokena prayatenena unnatim yāti* 'He achieves ascendancy with a little effort'. Here *stokāt prayatnāt* will be unacceptable. Thus the stems *stoka* etc. used as non-substantive with 5th or 3rd vibhakti denote exactly the same *kāraka* relation which they do while occurring exclusively in the 3rd vibhakti as associated with substantives.

The *apādāna* stems, on the other hand, are substantives and always take the 3rd vibhakti and denote a different *kāraka* relation.

It may, however, be pointed out that any of the stems *stoka* etc. if used as substantive, it takes 5th vibhakti to denote *apādāna* relation, e. g. *kṛcchra* in the sense of 'difficulty' in the following sentence.

- (48) *sa kṛcchrān mocayātmānam* (MB 1.147.5),
'now rid yourself of this impasse'.

(ii) The 5th vibhakti in *apādāna* stems may be replaced optionally by the suffix *tas*; but such replacement in case of *stoka* etc. is not attested in the language. The construction *kārāvāsāt muktaḥ* 'he was released from the prison' and *stokāt muktaḥ* 'he got released easily' are distinguished on the basis that in case of one the 5th vibhakti is replaceable by *tas* but *not* in case of the other. These *kārāvāsataḥ muktaḥ* is acceptable while *stokataḥ muktaḥ* is *not*.

(iii) In embedded constructions verbal stems co-occurring with *stoka* etc. do *not* display the same type of structural changes as do those occurring with *apādāna* stems as discussed earlier. For

instance, no complex structure like *devadattaḥ alpāt aśvam lābham aplāyata* in the sense 'devadatta having grabbed the horse effortlessly made off with it' based on *devadattaḥ alpāt aśvam alabhata* and *devadattaḥ apalāyata* where the actions denoted by verbal stems occur one after the other in point of time.

To conclude : For the crucial role of nominal vibhakti suffixes in determining nature and type of *kāraka* relation, he gathers initially constructions where nominal stems are found to end up with a particular vibhakti suffix type. He thus comes to collect a large body of nominal and verb stems pairs sharing a formal feature. Next he proceeds to examine overall grammatical behaviour of these pairs in all its aspects. Consistency in their behaviour leads him to postulate common *kāraka* relationship between them.

Below we shall look at how Pāṇini describes *apādāna* relation in his grammar.

9. Pāṇini's Description of *apādāna* *kāraka*

Formulation and presentation of structural statements in Pāṇini reflect his overriding commitment to evolving a mechanism capable of producing grammatical constructions at different levels of language organization. Simple classification and enumeration of structural units at each level of organization will *not* have achieved that end. His description of *apādāna* illustrates very well his method and technique in this regard.

There are in all *eight* statements describing *apādāna* (1424-31). These are read under *kārake* (1423) denoting that *apādāna* is one type of *kāraka*. Ancient commentators and modern students of Pāṇini as well, regard these as various definitions or characterizations of *apādāna*. There are obvious difficulties in accepting this interpretation. In the first place, one would expect a *unitary* feature to define or characterize a *kāraka*. But on the other hand, according to this interpretation some of the *kāra*kas come to acquire multiple definitions, each unique and exclusive. For instance, *apādāna* has eight; *sampradāna* nine and *karma* eleven. Do we really believe that Pāṇini is capable of creating such a mess? We are unfortunately misreading him. These statements are never intended by him as definitions or characterization of *kāra*kas. To appreciate formulation of these statements and comprehend their intended import one has to concede that each statement is meant to explicate specific linguistic data related structurally. One has, thus, to be fully aware of what these facts relating to structural relationships are, facts that go into the making of these statements. These facts are

the ones which Pāṇini extracts from linguistic data, as homework, by subjecting these to systematic and rigorous analysis. These are not reported in his grammar as such but are fully reflected in his statements.

Once more we may recapitulate here the steps he takes to obtain facts built into his statements describing apādāna kāraka. In the first step he isolates what nominal and verb stem pairs denote kāraka relation as opposed to non-kāraka. In the next step he determines what kāraka pairs indicate a *common relationship* called here *apādāna*. In the third and final step he sorts out apādāna pairs into *subsets* taking into consideration their co-occurrence preferences or constraints. Structural facts incorporated into each statement are thus: (i) nominal and verb stems that co-occur, (ii) syntactic relation of kāraka obtaining between them and (iii) the kāraka relation is of the type of apādāna. Format of these statements may be described as follows: x related as kāraka with y is called k_1 , where x , y and k_1 stand respectively for classes of nominal and verbal stems and kāraka type.

Now the hard task he is confronted with is to find out bases for sorting out these stems into subsets significant structurally. He must have tried options open to him. Finally he turns around to organize verb stems in terms of semantic features. He finds that these neatly fall into *eight* groups, as we shall discuss below presently. What about groups of nominal stems co-occurring with each class of verbal stem? Semantically these are found to constitute heterogenous lots. Pāṇini steps out of semantic world. He examines roles of entities denoted by nominal stems vis-a-vis the action denoted by verb classes. He discovers that nominal stems cooccurring with a particular verb class can be subsumed under one class on the basis of common role played by *entities* indicated by them in relation to the *action* denoted by the class of verb stems.

We notice here that to categorize nominal and verbal stems that occur together, Pāṇini makes use of criteria of different nature viz. semantic properties in case of verb stems and pragmatic roles of entities, physical or non-physical, denoted by nominal stems in relation to the action indicated by verb classes. Strictly speaking in terms of Pāṇini's view of language both these considerations fall outside the domain of linguistic structure. But these do belong to the larger context of language use. For Pāṇini any factor from total environments of language use is good enough to account for any linguistic structure.

We may now watch him at work in organizing nominal and verb stems into various sub-sets in terms of the criteria pointed out above and formulating his statements accordingly. We shall see that once formulation of these statements is understood clearly, their intended import unfolds itself unambiguously.

(1) As Pāṇini scans data relating to apādāna constructions, he notices verb stems such as *pat* 'to fall'; *srāṃs* 'to slip away'; *up-sṭha* 'to get up from'; *ava-ruh* 'to descend'; *syand* 'to flow' etc. All such stems denote in common 'moving away' of an entity, physical or non-physical, from another such entity. Such stems for sharing a semantic feature constitute a class. To denote it Pāṇini uses the expression *apaya* meaning 'moving away' being derived from the root *apa-t* 'to go away' by adding the suffix *a* (represented lexically as *ac*).

Following are a few illustrative examples where such verb stems occur.

- (49) *vṛkṣāt parṇam patati* 'the leaf falls from the tree'.
- (50) *aśvāt trasiāt patitah* 'he fell down from a shying horse'.
- (51) *āsanāt ut-tiṣṭhati devah* 'his Majesty rises up from his seat'.
- (52) *bubhukṣitah bhrāṣṭrāt apūpān apakaṣṣati*
'the hungry pulls out cakes from the oven'.
- (53) *kṛṣṣakah kūpāt jalam ud-aṅcati* 'the farmer draws water from the well'.
- (54) *gāṇḍivam saṃsrasate hastāt* 'the Gandiva bow slips off my hand'.
- (55) *iṣṭikām muñjāt pravaheṭ*
'one should separate the straw from muñja grass'.
- (56) *ghaṭāt niṣcyotante jala-bindavaḥ*
'water drops trickle down from the pitcher'.
- (57) *parvatāt avarohati pathikah* 'the traveller descends from the hill'.
- (58) *hiyate arthād ya u preyo vṛṇīte*
'he falls short of his goal who chooses the pleasurable'.
- (59) *asmāt syandante sindhavaḥ sarvarūpāḥ*
'from him flow out rivers of all sorts'.
- (60) *pretya asmāl lokād amṛtā bhavanti*
'having departed from this world they become immortal'.
- (61) *bhaktah sarva-pāpebhyah muchyate* 'a devotee is absolved of all sins'.

- (62) *nyāyyāt pathaḥ na pravicalanti dhīrāḥ*
 'the wise do not swerve from the path of righteousness'.
- (63) *mām tāvad ud-dhara ūco dayitā-pravṛtyā*
 'please! save me from grief by getting the news of my beloved'.

Now the question is: Do nominal stems *vrkṣa* 'a tree'; *hastā* 'a hand'; *aśva* 'a horse'; *artha* 'goal'; *pāpa* 'sin' etc. denoting *apādāna* constitute a class corresponding to the class of verb they occur with? Obviously these do not form a semantic class as these are diversified semantically. But these stems do signify entities, things, from which 'movement away' originates. Such a pragmatic role may characterize these stems as a distinct class. Pāṇini uses the term *dhruva* to denote it. Literally the term means 'stable, fixed'. However it will be misleading to understand it here in its literal sense. It is intended to signify nominal stems that denote entities, physical or non-physical, moving or stationary, that play the role of a 'reference point' for 'moving away'.

Pāṇini now has all the information needed to formulate a structural statement describing syntactic relation between 5th vibhakti ending nominal stems and verbal stems occurring with them in the type of constructions illustrated above. We may remind ourselves that all this information which he displays for the *first* time in his grammar is obtained from an analysis of linguistic data as homework. It does not come from the blue. Formulation and meaning of his structural statement may not be properly understood if we do not keep this fact in mind. To repeat, he is talking of *kāraka* relations and among *kāraka* relations he is talking of the type displayed by 5th vibhakti ending nominal stems called *apādāna* and he is organizing pairs denoting *apādāna* relation into groups on the basis of their co-occurrence features. His statement embodying these structural facts reads: (*kārake*) *dhruvam apāye apādānam* (1424). It may be rendered as follows. On being *kāraka* (*kārake*) nominal stems denoting entities that serve as point of reference (*dhruva*) in relation to the act of moving away denoted by verbal stems co-occurring with them (*apāya*) are *apādāna*.

(2) Next Pāṇini considers constructions in which stems like *bhī*; *tras*; *śāṅk*; *ud-vij* etc. are found to occur. All these stems have the sense 'to fear, be afraid of'. These may thus be subsumed under a semantic class denoted by the expression *bhy-artha* i. e. 'stems having the meaning 'to fear'. A few examples of such constructions are:

- (64) *vṛkebhyaḥ bibheti meṣapālah* 'the shepherd is afraid of wolves'.
- (65) *bibheti alpa-śrutād vedo mām ayam pratariṣyati* 'that he will cheat me, the Veda fears a man of little knowledge'.
- (66) *yamād ud-vijate janaḥ* 'people fear Yama, the God of Death'.
- (67) *sammānād brāhmaṇaḥ nityam ud-vijeta viṣād iva* 'a brahmin should always fear honour as one would poison'.
- (68) *piśunād aheḥ iva śaṅkate* 'he is scared of a back-bite as one is of a snake'.
- (69) *guroḥ san-trasyati māṇavakaḥ* 'the student is afraid of his teacher'.

Nominal stem *vrka* 'a wolf'; *yama* 'Lord of Death'; *guru* 'a teacher'; *sammāna* 'honour' etc., though semantically wide apart, are put together in a class for the identical role of entities denoted by them in relation to the act of 'fearing'. These are 'cause of inspiring fear'. Pāṇini uses the expression *bhaya-hetu* 'causes of fear' to designate this class of nominals. It may however be pointed out that there is nothing inherent in the nature of these entities that they must 'cause fear'. A snake may scare the mother but not necessarily the child. All that is intended to claim here is that whenever an entity denoted by such stems 'causes fear', then these stems stand in *apādāna* relation vis-a-vis verbal stems meaning 'to fear'.

Now to capture *apādāna* relation displayed in the above constructions, Pāṇini could make a statement like (*kārake*) *bhyarthānām bhaya-hetuḥ (apādānam)*. But actually no such statement occurs in Pāṇini. The reason is not far to seek. He finds that the same class of nominal stems occur with verb stems like *trā; dā; rakṣ* etc. meaning 'to protect'. He sees a distinct advantage in treating these two sets of constructions together.

Consider the following examples.

- (70) *vṛkebhyaḥ trāyate meṣapālam devadattaḥ* 'devadatta protects the shepherd from wolves'.
- (71) *alpam apy asya dharmasya trāyate mahato bhayāt* 'even a little practice of this virtuous path saves one from great disaster'.
- (72) *pāpāt mā pāhi govinda* 'o govinda! save me from sin'.
- (73) *harinebhyah rakṣati sasyam* 'he guards his crops from the deer'.

To appreciate how entities denoted by *vrka* 'a wolf' etc. play the same role, namely 'cause of fear' vis-a-vis the act of 'protecting', we may examine the sentence (70).

The situation depicted here may be visualized as follows. Devadatta happens to go the way where he finds a shepherd being confronted with a pack of wolves. Apprehending harm from them, he proceeds to offer protection to the shepherd. What prompts Devadatta to take any action under the situation, is apprehension of 'potential' harm to the shepherd from wolves. 'Wolves' etc. are 'cause of fear' *not* for the person who carries out 'the act of protecting' *but* for one who is being protected. However for explicating *kāraka* relation between nominal stems denoting such entities and verbal stems meaning 'to protect', these entities are treated as 'cause of fear' in the sense explained above.

In the above constructions nominal stems denoting 'things from which one is protected' show the same syntactic relation i.e. *apādāna* vis-a-vis verbal stems meaning 'to protect'. Thus instead of making two separate statements for explicating *kāraka* relation in constructions involving respectively verb classes meaning 'to fear' and 'to protect', he fuses these two statements together. His composite statement reads: (*kārake*) *bhī-trārthānām bhaya-hetuḥ (apādānam)* which may be rendered as: 'on being *kāraka*, nominal stems standing for entities that are cause of fear, are *apādāna* when related to verbal stems meaning 'to fear' or 'to protect'.

It may be pointed out that stem classes denoted by roots *bhī* and *trā* are respectively *intransitive* and *transitive*. Thus constructions involving these classes differ in structure. Difference in syntactic structures of these constructions, however, is of little concern here since roles played by entities denoted by nominal stems vis-a-vis the actions denoted by these classes are identical.

(3) *Parā-ji* is the only verbal stems that shows up in the data in the sense 'to be overcome by, be unbearable'. It is intransitive and constitutes a class by itself. Here are a few examples of its use.

(74) *adhyayanāt parā-jayate māṇavakah*

'the student is unable to cope with the studies'.

(75) *vyākaraṇāt parā-jayante manda-buddhayaḥ*

'the dull-witted find the study of grammar unbearable'.

(76) *śatroḥ parājayate kāpuruṣaḥ*

'a coward is unable to stand the enemy'.

(77) viṣayebhyah parājayante yoginah

'ascetics cannot suffer sensual pleasures'.

Nominal stems like *adhyayana* 'study'; *śatru* 'enemy' etc. co-occurring with *parā-ji* indicate entities which are 'unbearable'. By virtue of their role, thus, they constitute a distinct class which is denoted by the term *asoḍha* in Pāṇini. The structural statement describing relationship between *parā-ji* and nominal stem class *asoḍha* runs as follows: (kārake) parājer asoḍhah (apādānam) (1426). It may be interpreted as - 'on being kārake (kārake), nominal stems denoting objects that one finds unbearable (asoḍha) are apādāna when connected with the verbal stem parā-ji.

4. Here are a few instances of apādāna constructions where verbal stems like *vr. ni-vr* (both causal), *ni-śidh*; *ni-rudh* etc. are found to occur. All these stems express the meaning 'to ward off; keep back'. These thus form a semantic class described by Pāṇini as *vāraṇārtha* i.e. 'having the sense of 'warding off'.'

(78) māṣebhyah gāh vārayati kṛṣakah

'the farmer keeps off cows from beans'.

(79) yāvebhah aśvān ni-vārayati

'he wards off horses from barley'.

(80) agneh nāṇavakam vārayati

'he keeps the boy away from fire'.

(81) kūpād andham vārayati

'he holds back the blind from the well'.

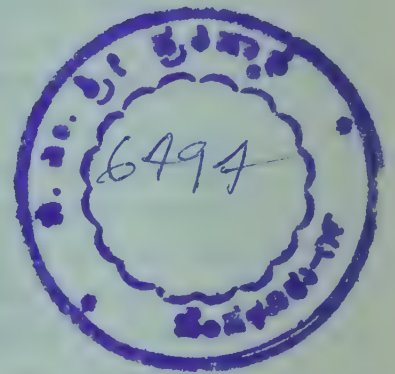
(82) cāpālāt niṣedhati guruh śiṣyam

'the teacher prevents the student from mischief'.

(83) atyaśanāt niruṇaddhi śiṣum mātā

'mother dissuades the child from overeating'.

To ascertain what feature characterizes nominal stems such as *māṣa* 'beans', *yava* 'barley'; *agni* 'fire' etc., semantically a motley lot, we may examine the sentence (78) given above. 'Warding off' cows from beans obviously implies that the farmer regards beans as 'worthwhile'. The cows are likely to damage these. Thus he is keen to keep them off. It may be said that all such stems which denote things that are considered 'worthwhile' constitute a group when these stems are related syntactically with verbal stems indicating 'warding off'. Pāṇini uses the expression *īpsita* meaning literally 'desired to be obtained' to denote this class of stems. His statement describing these structural facts reads: (kārake)



vāraṇārthānām īpsitaḥ (apādānam) (1427). It may be interpreted as: On being *kāraka*, nominal stems denoting entities considered worthwhile are *apādāna* when related to verb class meaning 'warding off'.

(5) Next Pāṇini takes up constructions where such verb stems as *antar-dhā*: *tiras-bhū*; *ni-lī*; *apa-hnu* etc. meaning 'to hide oneself' are found to occur. A few examples are:

- (84) upādhyāyāt antar-dhatte māṇavakaḥ
'the student hides himself from the teacher'.
(85) dasubhyaḥ Tirobhavati pathikah
'the wayfarer disappears from the sight of robbers'.
(86) mātuh niliyate śiśuḥ
'the child hides himself from his mother'.
(87) rājapuruṣāt apa-hnute cauraḥ
'the thief hides himself from the policeman'

Verb stems constitute a semantic class denoted by Pāṇini by the term *antar-dhi* meaning 'hiding oneself'. Nominal stems such as *upādhyāya dasyu*; *mātṛ* etc., on the other hand, form a group on the basis of a common role they play in these constructions in relation to the action of 'hiding oneself'. These stems indicate entities (here human beings) by whom one does not like to be seen. To denote this class of stems Pāṇini makes use of the phrase *yenādarśanam icchati* 'one by whom one does not want to be noticed'. Thus his formulation making use of these two expressions reads: (*kārake*) *antardhau yenādarśanam icchati (apādānam)* (1428). It may be translated as: On being *kāraka*, nominal stems which indicate entities by whom one does not want to be seen are *apādāna* when connected with verbal stems denoting 'hiding oneself'.

(6) Next Pāṇini deals with the group of constructions that contain such verb stems as *upa-yuj*; *adhi-i*; *ava-gam* (causal) etc. meaning 'to study, receive instructions'. These may be grouped under a semantic class denoted by Pāṇini by the term *upa-yoga* which is interpreted by the commentators in the sense of 'regular instruction'. A few examples are:

- (88) upādhyāyāt vyākaraṇam adhīte
'he studies grammar from his teacher'.
(89) kasmāt tvayā etad śāstram adhītam
'whom did you learn this treatise from?'.
(90) mayā tīrthād abhinaya-vidyā śikṣitā
'I received instructions in dramatics from an expert'.

(91) yāskāt avagamayati vedam
'he studies the veda from yāska'.

(92) purā ācāryāt śāstrāṇi upa-yuñjate sma
'in ancient times people studied scriptures from a teacher'.

Nominal stems *upādhyāya*; *yāska*; *kim*; *asmad* etc. occur here in the role of a teacher. These can thus be subsumed under a distinct group. Pāṇini employs the expression *ākhyātr* to indicate this class. Literally the term means 'one who communicates, narrates'. Structural statement made in terms of these expressions reads as follows: (kārake) ākhyātopayoge (apādānam) (1429). It may be rendered as: On being kārake, nominal stems denoting a teacher are apādāna when occurring with verbal stems meaning 'to study in a regular manner'.

(7) Next he considers constructions which contain verb stems like *jan*; *pra-jan*; *sam-bhū* etc. all denoting the sense 'to be born'. A few examples are:

(93) śṛṅgāt śarah jāyate 'the arrow comes out of horn'.

(94) go-lomāvi-lomabhyo dūrvā jāyante
'the dūrvā grass grows out of the hairs of a cow and those of a sheep'.

(95) annād vai prajāḥ prajāyante
'from food indeed are born the creatures'.

(96) putrāt pramodo jāyate 'from son is born happiness'.

(97) yathā sataḥ puruṣāt keśa-lomāni tathākṣarāt sam-bhavatiha viśvam
'as from the living man grow hairs (on the head and body), so out of the immutable is the universe born here'.

(98) kāmāt krodho abhijāyate 'from lust anger arises'.

(99) krodhād bhavati sam-mohah 'from anger arises delusion'.

Verb stems are subsumed under *jani* which may be treated as noun meaning 'birth' or verb root meaning 'to be born'. In any case it denotes here class of verb stems meaning 'to be born'. Nominal stems *śṛṅga*; *go-loman*; *anna* etc. occur in the role of 'stuff', physical or non-physical, from which are born 'things' denoted by stems that occur as kartā, grammatical agent, of the verb stem class meaning 'to be born'. Pāṇini uses the term *prakṛti* to indicate nominal class. It means 'original stuff, primary substance' from which something is born. Structural statement formulated in terms

of these expressions reads as follows : (kārake) jani-kartuḥ prakṛtiḥ (apādānam) (1430). This may be interpreted as : 'On being kāraka, nominal stems indicating entities that are considered primary substance of some other entities that are denoted by nominal stems that occur as kartā, agent, of verbal stems meaning 'to be born', are apādāna (when these occur with this class of verb stems).

It is interesting to note that here nominal stems are identified by a combination of non-linguistic and linguistic features, namely, role of entities denoted by them vis-a-vis the action indicated by the verb stems meaning 'to be born' and their being kartā of the same class of verb stems.

(8) Pāṇini is left with constructions which contain the lone root bhū in the sense of 'to appear for the first time'. It constitutes a class by itself. It may be noted that the root is always preceded by the *upsarga pra* when used in the above meaning. A few examples of constructions illustrating its use are :

- (100) himavataḥ gaṅgā prabhavati
'the Ganges emerges from the Himalayas'.
(101) dharmāt arthaḥ prabhavati
'from dharma issues forth prosperity'.
(102) saṁ-gād aṣeṣāḥ prabhavanti doṣāḥ
'from (bad) association spring up evil of all sorts'.

Nominal stems himavat; dharma etc. denote entities that are considered as 'source' of entities denoted by stems occurring as kartā, agent, of bhū. The expression *prabhava* derived from the stem *pra-bhū* in the sense of 'source' is used by Pāṇini to designate nominal class. By reading the expression *kartuḥ* from the previous sūtra, the statement formulated describing structural facts relating to above constructions, reads as follows : (kārake) bhuvah (kartuḥ) prabhavaḥ (apādānam). It is rendered as : On being kāraka, nominal stems denoting entities that are source of entities indicated by stems acting as kartā, agent, of the root bhū, are apādāna (when occurring with bhū 'to appear for the first time').

10. Derivation of apādāna Constructions

To make clear what is meant by derivation of apādāna constructions, it may be better to examine the following construction.

- (103) vṛkṣāt paṇam bhūmau patati
'a leaf falls from the tree on the ground'.

Here the verbal form *patati* 'falls' is simultaneously related with all the nominal forms. The construction is, thus, a sort of amalgam of the structures *vrkṣāt patati* 'falls from the tree'; *parṇam patati* 'a leaf falls' and *bhūmau patati* 'falls on the ground'. The nominal stems *vrkṣa*, *parṇa* and *bhūmi* occurring with *pat* denote different *kāra*kas. A construction built around *pat* will be deficient if structures involving these stems are not mentioned explicitly or understood implicitly. Thus when we talk of derivation of *apādāna* constructions all that is intended is to form structures like *vrkṣāt patati* which necessarily forms integral part of total structure as illustrated in the above construction.

To all intents and purposes derivative process seems to be a mirror image of analytical procedure. In one we dismantle structures while in the other we build up the same. Below we demonstrate how *apādāna* structure including *vrkṣāt patati* 'falls from the tree'; *vrkebhyaḥ bibheti* 'fears the wolves' etc. are derived. As these structures have been dealt with in the course of our discussion of analytical procedure, we eschew unnecessary repetition here.

The *kāra*ka relations, as we know by now, obtain between nominal and verbal stems capable of occurring together. Thus to produce any *kāra*ka construction such pairs form the nucleus. To initiate production of an *apādāna* construction, the speaker may pick up a pair appropriate to what he intends to talk about from one of the sets described in 1424-31. At this stage rudimentary constructions like *vrkṣa pat* (1424); *vrka bhī* (1425); *adhyayana prā-ji* (1426) etc. are produced.

In our discussion of analytical procedure it was revealed that 5th vibhakti alone denotes a *kāra*ka that was called *apādāna*. Thus in the next stage of derivation the 5th vibhakti suffix in any desired number is attached to nominal stems in rudimentary constructions (2348). Thus from *vrkṣa pat* etc. we get *vrkṣāt pat*; *vrkebhyaḥ bhī* and so on.

Inflectional suffixes with verb stems, on the other hand, as demonstrated earlier, play no part in determining *kāra*ka relations, (The question of representation of *kartā* and *karma* *kāra*kas by verb inflection will be taken up later). The speaker is, thus, free to add any suffix consistent with categorial distinctions he has in mind. To denote, for instance, distinctions of 3rd person singular, active voice and present tense, the suffix *ti* or *te* is added to the stems. The structures realized at this point are *vrkṣāt patati* 'falls from the tree'; *vrkebhyaḥ bibheti* 'fears the wolves' etc.

This completes derivation of apādāna constructions from *vṛkṣ pat*; *vṛka bhī* etc. However to develop fully the construction of which these structures constitute integral part, we derive in a similar manner other kāraka structures by adding appropriate vibhakti suffixes to nominal stems that co-occur with *pat*, *bhī* etc. To cut short, finally we may have *vṛkṣāt (parṇam) (bhūmau) patati*; *(araṇye) (meṣapālah) vṛkebhyah bibheti* 'in the forest the shepherd is afraid of wolves'.

(a) The apādāna constructions thus derived, as illustrated above, though complete in all respects, may however undergo an optional structural change. The 5th vibhakti suffix, irrespective of number it may indicate, may be replaced optionally by the suffix *tas* (5445). Thus replacing 5th vibhakti in above constructions by *tas* we have *vṛkṣataḥ (parṇam) (bhūmau) patati*; *(araṇye) (meṣapālah) vṛkataḥ bibheti*; etc. We need not repeat what we have discussed earlier in this regard.

We take this opportunity to point out that the suffix *tas* alternates optionally with other vibhaktis denoting kāraka or non-kāraka relations. It replaces, for instance, 5th vibhakti denoting non-kāraka relations in such constructions as *arjunāt prati bhīmaḥ asti* 'here is Bhima on behalf of Arjun' etc. (5444); 3rd vibhakti denoting kāraka or non-kāraka (depending on what interpretation one puts on) in *cāritreṇa atigṛhyate* 'he excels (others) by means of his (good) character'; *cāritreṇa hīyate* 'he is deserted because of his (bad) character' etc. (5446-7) and 6th vibhakti denoting non-kāraka relation in *devā arjunasya abhavan* 'the gods were on the side of Arjuna'; *kāsasya kuru* 'treat your hiccough' etc. where the 6th vibhakti is in construction respectively with *pakṣa* 'side' and *pratīkāra* 'remedy' in these constructions of which there is ellipsis (5448-9).

Alternation of *tas* with 5th vibhakti denoting apādāna differs significantly structurally in as much as it is the only vibhakti denoting kāraka where replacement is *not* conditional. In all other cases alternation takes place in specified environments.

(b) There are obligatory structural changes in apādāna constructions involving unique verbal stems or stems in general under specified environments. We have dealt with these in detail in our discussion of analytical procedure. We need not repeat all that has been said there.

(i) In the construction given in (40) the apādāna construction embedded there is *śayyāyāḥ utihāyam*. Its derivation may be recounted

here. Here the nucleus structure is the stem pair: *šayyā-ud-sthā*. Next we have *šayyāyāḥ ud-sthā* by adding 5th vibhakti to *šayyā*. In environments stated in 3421, the suffix *tvā* comes after verbal stems in a construction embedded in another. Thus *šayyāyāḥ ud-sthā* assumes the form *šayyāyāḥ ud-sthā-tvā*. Again in environments described in 3452, the suffix *tvā* is obligatorily replaced by *am* if the verbal stem occurs in an apādāna construction. Thus *šayyāyāḥ ud-sthā-tvā* gives place to *šayyāyāḥ ud-sthā-am* which after application of appropriate phonological operations is finally realized as *šayyāyāḥ utthāyam*. It may be compounded optionally and thus we have alternant structure *šayyotthāyam* (2221).

(ii) In deriving an upādāna construction involving the root *añc* 'to go' the change of initial *ṛ* to *n* is blocked if the suffixes coming after the root are *ta* or *tavat* (8248). Thus from the structure *kūpa (jala) ud-añc-ta* we get *kūpāt (jalam) ud-ak-tam* 'water was drawn from the well' or (*saḥ*) *kupāt (jalam) udak-tvān* 'he drew water from the well'.

(iii) Again in an apādāna construction *rājñah pāhi* derived from the initial structure *rājan pā*, the *visa-janīya* changes to *s* before *pā* 'to protect' (8352). Thus we have *rājñas pāhi* 'protect (us) from the king'.

(iv) Derivation of nominal stems like *bhīm* etc is made from a hypothetical underlying apādāna structure such as *x bhī*. The roots select suffixes like *mā* etc. The hypothetical stem merges with the derivative so to say. Thus the derivative *bhīma*, for instance, means 'an object that inspires fear, something terrifying'.

Traditionally the underlying structure is displayed as *asmāt or yasmāt bibheti*, an apādāna structure. Here the pronominal stem is dummy. The underlying structure is treated as a sort of paraphrase of the derivative to be made, thus more in tune with its meaning.

Likewise *sruva* 'a sacrificial ladle' may be derived from the underlying structure *x sru* or from the traditional paraphrase *asmāt or yasmāt sravati* by attaching the suffix *a* signifying 'something from which something else flows out'.

As pointed out above Pāṇini treats the derivative *bhīma*, *sruva* etc. as apādāna (3474). We can thus legitimately expect such apādāna constructions as *bhīmat bibheti* 'he fears the terrible one'; *sruvāt (ghrtam) sravati* 'ghee flows from the sacrificial ladle' etc.

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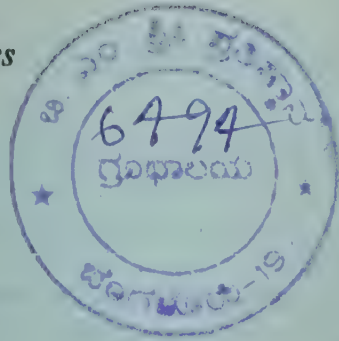
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ELLIPSIS IN MALAYALAM

A. P. Andrews Kutty

University of Kerala

This paper is an attempt to characterise the device of ellipsis in Malayalam. A study of the major syntactic patterns would turn out to be more comprehensive if instances of ellipsis are correctly identified and described. As elliptical constructions largely feature in everyday use of a language they would provide interesting syntactic behaviour in different languages, especially in discourse contexts. As a result, they can be profitably utilised especially in language teaching and related exercises.

Crystal observes that 'elliptical constructions are an essential feature in everyday conversation, but the rules governing their occurrence have received relatively little study' (1980:129). It is attested as a 'purely surface phenomenon' (Quirk *et al* 1972:536). Ellipsis as a syntactic device seems to require careful investigation not only due to its nature, motivation and semantic implication, but also due to its interesting coincidence with cases of deletion and erasure. The device of ellipsis is characterised as a 'surface phenomenon' ensuring 'unique recoverability' depending on linguistic or non-linguistic contexts and as an essentially 'abbreviating device' that reduces redundancy (cf. *ibid*). That it is 'a term used in grammatical analysis to refer to a sentence where for reasons of economy, emphasis or style a part of the structure has been omitted which is recoverable from the scrutiny of the context.....and that the ellipted parts need to be unambiguously specifiable' (Crystal 1980) can be taken as a brief defining statement on the process to start with. We can also consider, in this connection, the characteristics of the process of deletion as it is often defined in TG as a 'transformation (which) can delete only those elements or proforms, or a repeated element'. Erasure is specified as the 'deletion of a noun phrase.....by an identical noun phrase'. Ellipsis is 'the deletion from the deep structure of one or more constituents that

are understood in the context of the surface structure' (see, Palmatier 1972: 40, 50, 52). A number of transformations are attested under the general process of deletion in transformational grammars.

It is obvious from these that the process of elision, deletion (and erasure) have several characteristic features in common. Although a defining demarcation is not attempted, Quirk *et al* (1972) try to provide an exhaustive attestation of the different types of elliptical constructions especially in co-ordination and apposition in English (see, *ibid*: 536-648, 707-715). They provide a brief statement on the nature and motivation of ellipsis and concentrate mainly on providing elliptical types in English with certain general observations on their characteristic features here and there. One of these observations deserves our attention in this context: 'Ellipsis is not to be confused with the concept of deletion postulated in some theories of grammar, notably that of Transformational Grammar' (:537). They consider a pair of sentences.

(1) John wants Mary to read

(2) John wants to read

(2) is understood having 'John' as the subject of 'to read'. Since,

3) *John wants John to read

is unacceptable, they conclude that 'John' is not ellipted. In (3) the deletion is obligatory to derive (2). This and the note that 'ellipsis may coincide, however, with some cases of optional deletion as formulated in such theories of grammar' in Quirk *et al* create a possible confusion involving these two concepts, as they do not essentially differentiate both. Furthermore, they do not even categorically suggest that all obligatory deletions are, however, not instances of ellipsis or all optional deletions can be considered as (also) instances of ellipsis. They try to indicate some constructions where there appears to be no reason to posit ellipsis.

Alluding to the important part played by ellipsis in sentence connection Quirk *et al* suggest the following: 'If we find what seems to be an elliptical construction, we are usually forced to look back to what was said previously in order to interpret the sentence. We interpret the sentence by reference to what has been ellipted. And we can only know what has been ellipted on the basis of what is present in the preceding context' (1972: 707).

Recoverability is a strong condition for ellipsis. Quirk *et al* affirms: 'In a strict sense of ellipsis, words are ellipted only if they are uniquely recoverable; *i.e.* there is no doubt as to what words are to

be supplied, and it is possible to add the recovered words to the sentence' (ibid: 536). However, unique recoverability is said to depend on the context. The process of ellipsis is attested to be different in different contexts where the possibility of recoverability depends on what is present in the same sentence or it depends on a larger context across sentences. The criterion of unique recoverability ensures an unambiguous specification of the ellipted parts in the specified context. The use of the terms 'strict sense of ellipsis', 'not ellipsis in the strictest sense of the term' *etc.*, in Quirk *et al* (536, 537) would simply allude to the tentativeness in their strategy of identification of the process in question. Undoubtedly, if there is variation predictable in what is recovered, it would simply signal that the ellipsis is not realised in its real sense. Semantic implication is distinguished from ellipsis (ibid: 537, 549) and such cases are viewed as 'weak ellipsis'. 'For semantic implication there is no necessity that items understood be uniquely recoverable, or that it be possible to add understood items to the clause without changing the form of the clause. When we supply the ellipted items, if the resultant sentence is semantically equivalent to the original elliptical sentence, then we have an instance of strict ellipsis. Weak ellipsis as identified by Quirk *et al* (:540) refers to the possibility of what is recovered being synonymous or partially so forming a severely limited set of alternatives. This observation on weak ellipsis seems to be not in conformity with its characterisation envisaged in (:549) where it is considered as 'implied' type. In fact, the variations of ellipsis would help us to understand its real nature. Since unique recoverability in terms of co-referentiality is a condition for deletion within a sentence there is little chance for alternative recovery which would make the deletion weaker. In other words, in a strict sense of the term deletions are very strong cases of ellipsis. Furthermore, obligatory deletions are the strongest cases of deletion which thus can be called deletion proper than ellipsis. Moreover, the addition of the recovered items leads to the unacceptability in such instances.

Before we illustrate these observations with suitable examples from Malayalam, one more point requires consideration. Lyons (1968 : 174-175) considers what are traditionally called 'incomplete' or 'elliptical' sentences and specifies that 'one must distinguish between contextual completeness and grammatical completeness'. Although at first sight shortened form of sentences which can be interpreted without reference to any previously occurring utterance might appear to be called elliptical, Lyons specifies that they are 'elliptical' in a different sense (ibid : 175). Such instances are

grammatically complete and can be described directly by the grammar while certain other elliptical types requires reference to previous sentences in a discourse context. See sentences below :

- (4) Whose car are you going in ?
- (5) John's, if he gets here in time
- (6) We are going in John's car, if he gets here in time.

The elliptical part 'John's' in (5) grammatically incomplete but contextually complete with reference to (4) and (6), while in,

- (7) Have you got the tickets ?
- (8) Got the tickets ?

(8) is only a shortened version of (7) and grammatically complete. Lyons does not elaborate on the question whether grammatically complete types of 'elliptical' constructions are only cases of deletion; but only observes that both are elliptical in different senses of the term. As a result, shorter forms of some longer versions of the same sentence are also to be considered as elliptical. In deletion, then, all obligatory deletions as the latter are to be called 'elliptical' in some sense.

In the light of the foregoing discussion let us consider instances in Malayalam where we have to specify a strategy for identification, classification and explanation of the process of ellipsis. Consider the following sentences in Malayalam. (What is being dropped or ellipted are shown in brackets in the Malayalam sentences to effect easy contrast).

- (9) atu raaman (aaṇu)
'it is Rama'
- (10) (ṇiṇṇaḷ) iviṭe varuu
'(you) come here'
- (11) (ṇii) (enikku) pattu ruupaa kaṭam taraamoo?
'will (you) give (me) ten rupees as loan'

There are cases of dropping which are to be considered either as ellipsis or as non-elliptical deletions. In sentences like (9)-(11), as far as Quirk *et al* specifies, there involves semantic implication rather than ellipsis. However, they can be taken as cases of weak ellipsis. In other words the above mentioned instances are suggested to be taken as 'implied' rather than ellipted. Sentences parallel to (1)-(3) in Malayalam would also present instances of 'implied' types according to this. See below :

(12) raaman siita paaṭṭu paaṭaan aagrahikkunnu
 'Rama desires to hear Sita singing'

(13) raaman paaṭṭu paaṭaan aagrahikkunnu
 'Rama desires to sing'

(14) *raaman (raaman) paaṭṭu paaṭaan aagrahikkunnu

(14) is unacceptable signalling obligatory deletion. However, (13) also can be taken as a case of weak ellipsis.

But, here, a distinction is to be made between the foregoing types and the elliptical ones which are not dependent on the adjacent linguistic context for their interpretation. They are dependent on the situational context. See (15) below in contrast to (11) above.

(15) (nii/avan/aval/avar) (enikku) pattu ruupaa kaṭam
 tarumoo?

'will (you/he/she/they) give (me) ten rupees as loan'

If we are to consider (13) as weak ellipsis in some sense, then possibly all obligatory deletions which satisfy identity condition will have to be considered as the same. Consider sentences (16) and (17) below:

(16) raaman ooti vannu
 'Rama came running'

(17) *raaman (raaman) ooti vannu

(16) is by identical deletion. (17) although satisfy co-referentiality, is not an acceptable sentence.

It is felt that there is an amount of confusion here in clearly demarcating cases of deletion, weak ellipsis and semantic implication and ellipsis in the strict sense of the term, if we follow Quirk *et al* (1972). The very term weak ellipsis is elusive in the sense that it provides, at least, a weak confusion in cases of non-elliptical deletions. A clear demarcation between ellipsis and non-ellipsis will have to be made if one has to look for correct identification and characterisation of the device of ellipsis which can be utilised especially for applicational purposes. Whether the confusion is due to an inherent overlapping or not will have to be looked into. Nevertheless, it is felt that weak ellipsis can be distinguished from real cases of ellipsis by identifying the former as cases of deletion in specified linguistic contexts.

Interestingly, Lyons' observation is also to be taken up here in this connection. His distinction between grammatically complete and contextually complete elliptical types would contribute little consolation for Quirk *et al*'s worries. For Lyons both types are

elliptical ones, although he assures that grammatically complete types are elliptical in a different sense. Does he mean weak ellipsis? If he insist on calling it ellipsis, he will have to. As far as strict cases of ellipsis are concerned, his point of contextual completeness can be taken as a useful clue for identification as in sentence shown below:

- (18) enikku cilavaakkaan paṇamuṇṭu pakṣe (enikku cilavaak-
kaan) taramilla

'I have money to spend but (I) have no means (to
spend the money)'

pakṣe taramilla 'but no means' is elliptical beyond doubt since it is only contextually complete and grammatically a non-sentence.

It has already been made clear that ellipsis depends on both linguistic and situational contexts. Mostly the elliptical types occur typically in co-ordinated type of constructions wherein linguistic contextualisation can most naturally be involved as if in a miniature discourse. The following brief exemplification would show the different representative types involved in clauses: Dependent on linguistic context:

subject:

- (19) raaman palam tiṇṇu, (raaman) kaappi kuṭiccu
'Rama ate fruit, (Rama) drank coffee'

Whole of predication:

- (20) raaman kaaṭṭil pooyi, siitayum (kaaṭṭil pooyi)
'Rama went to the forest, Sita too (went to the forest)'

Part of predication:

- (21) raamanu siitaye iṣṭamaaṇu, kriṣṇanu
rukmiṇiyeeyum (iṣṭamaaṇu)
'Rama likes Sita, Krishna (likes) Rukmini'

Direct object:

- (22) raaman siitaye sneehikkunṇu, pakṣe
kriṣṇan (siitaye) veRukkunṇu
'Rama loves Sita, but Krishna hates (Sita)'

VP - complement:

- (23) avan videeṣattu pooyi enṇa kaaryam keeṭṭu, pakṣe
(avan videeṣattu pooyi enṇa kaaryam) ṇaan viśvasik-
kunṇilla

'I heard the news that he went abroad, but (the news
that he went abroad) I don't believe'

Adverbial :

- (24) raaman viiṭṭil taamasikkunnu, kriṣṇanum (viiṭṭil)
taamasikkunnu

‘Rama reside at home, Krishna too (at home) resides’

Head NP :

- (25) enikku paḷutta maaṇṇa veeṇam, pakṣe
kiṭṭiyatu pacca (maaṇṇa)
‘I need ripened mango, but the one I got is not ripened
(mango)’

NP attributive – Relative participial :

- (26) avan paRaṇṇa kaaryam śeriyaaṇu, eṅkilum enikku
(avan paRaṇṇa kaaryam) iṣṭappeṭṭilla
‘the news which he said is true, but I didn’t like
(the news which he said)’

VP Complement — Verbal participial :

- (27) raaman ooti vannu, kriṣṇanum (ooti vannu)
‘Rama came running, Krishna too (came running)’

Conditional participial :

- (28) raaman pooyaal kriṣṇan pookum, (raaman pooyaal)
ṇaan pookilla
‘if Rama goes Krishna will go, (if Rama goes) I will
not go’

Purposive participial :

- (29) raaman pookaan tiirumaaniccu, kriṣṇanum (pookaan)
tiirumaaniccu
‘Rama decided to go, Krishna too (to go) decided’

Ellipsis not dependent on linguistic Context :

Initial word (s) of sentence ellipted ;

Declarative sentence :

Subject :

The elements ellipted can be the subject depending on situational context. The most striking feature of Malayalam is that the recoverability in such instances is in terms of only a specific set of alternatives as to I, II or III person.

I/II/III person pronoun :

- (30) (ṇaan/nii/avan/aval) paRaṇṇillee iviṭe varaan
‘didn’t (I/You/He/The) tell (you/him/her) to come here’

- (31) (nii/avan/aval) keeṭṭillee/keeṭṭoo?
‘did (n’t) (you/he/she) hear?’

III person (non gender)

- (32) (atu) saaramilla — ‘(it) doesn’t matter’
 okkilla — ‘(it) isn’t possible’
 seri — ‘(it) (is) right’
 teRRu — ‘(it) (is) wrong’
 bhayaṅkaram — ‘(it) (is) horrible’
 ugran — ‘(it) (is) fantastic’

In cognate languages like Tamil, Kannada and Telugu this type of alternations do not appear in sentences, as they involve personal endings in agreement with the subject ensuring unique recoverability and hence they could possibly be conditioned as dependent on linguistic context.

Interrogative sentence :

- (33) (ninakku) veeṇoo?
 ‘(do you) want?’
 (34) (ninakku) sukhamaaṇoo?
 ‘(are you) well?’
 (35) (nii/avan/avaḷ) rekṣapeṭṭoo?
 ‘did (you/he/she) escaped’

In interrogative types the alternatives seem to be comparatively less. Probably, it is due to the fact that they are naturally specified in a typical speaker/hearer context of situation.

Casal constructions :

Accusative :

- (36) (ninne) kaṇṭatu naṇṇaayi
 ‘it is nice to see (you)’
 (37) (ninne) pinne kaṇṭooḷaam
 ‘see (you) latter’

Dative :

- (38) (ninakku) uuṇu kiṭṭiyoo?
 ‘(did you) get the meals’
 (39) ninakku) peeṭiyuṇṭoo?
 ‘(are you) afraid?’

Sociative :

- (40) (ninnooṭu) aaru paRaṇṇu?
 ‘who told (you)?’

Ablative :

- (41) (nii) (viiṭṭil ninnu/naaṭṭil ninnu) ennu vannu?
'When did (you) come (from home/native place)'

Instrumental :

- (42) (ninnekkoṇṭu) entu pakaaaram?
'What is the use (with you)'

Genitive :

- (43) (ninRe) peerentaa?
'What is (your) name?'

Locative :

- (44) (viiṭṭil/naaṭṭil) entu viṣeeṣam?
'What news (at home/native place)'

Vocative :

- (45) (raamaa) vaa
'(Rama!) come'

The vocative itself can be considered as a subsentence whose occurrence can be linguistically contextualised as initial to imperatives as in

- (46) raamaa vaa
'Rama! you come'

For further exposition on this, see Andrewskutty (1973: 419)

As Quirk *et al* identifies ellipsis may be simple or complex. The former occurs in only one of the conjoined clauses as in

- (47) avar ciṇṇattil kaṇṭumuṭṭi, (avar) dhanuvil vaḷipiriṇṇu
'They met at the month of Chingam, (they) parted at the month of Dhanu'

- (48) avar ciṇṇattil kaṇṭumuṭṭi, (avar) dhanuvil vaḷipiriṇṇu,
(avar) karkkiṭakattil viiṇṭum kaṇṭumuṭṭi

'they met at the month of Chingam, (they) parted at the month of Dhanu, (they) met again at the month of Karkkidaka'. Simple ellipsis can be both anaphoric or cataphoric

- (49) enikku videeṣattu pookaan aagrahamuṇṭu, eṇkilum
(enikku videeṣattu pookaan) paṇamilla

'I have desire to go abroad, but (I) don't have money (to go abroad)'

- (50) (enikku videeṣattu pookaan) aagrahamuṇṭu, eṇkilum
enikku videeṣattu pookaan paṇamilla

'(I) have desire (to go abroad), but I don't have money to go abroad'

- (51) enikku videeṣattu pookaan aagrahamuṇṭu, eṅkilum
(enikku videeṣattu pookaan) paṇamilla, (enikku videeṣ-
attu pookaan) neeramilla

'I have desire to go abroad, but (I) don't have money
(to go abroad), (I) don't have time (to go abroad)'

In complex ellipsis items are ellipted both anaphorically and cata-
phorically in the same sentence:

- (52) (enikku videeṣattu pookaan) aagrahamuṇṭu, eṅkilum
enikku videeṣattu pookaan paṇamilla, (enikku videeṣattu
pookaan) neeramilla

'(I) have desire (to go abroad) but I don't have money
to go abroad, (I) don't have time (to go abroad)'

Ellipsis in dialogue can take place under three conditions as Quirk
et al specifies in (1972:708) which can occur in various combin-
ations: repetition, expansion or replacement by the second speaker
to what is said by first; an exemplification of which is given res-
pectively through sentences (53)-(55) below:

- (53) SP₁: raaman uuṇu kaḷiccoo?
'did Rama take meals?'

SP₂: (uvvu) (raaman/avan) (uuṇu) kaḷiccu/atu ceytu
'(yes) (Rama/he) took/did so (meals)'

- (54) SP₁: nii viṣamiccoo?
'did you suffer?'

SP₂: (uvvu) (nāan) vaḷare vaḷare (viṣamiccu)
'(Yes) (I) (suffered) very much'

- (55) SP₁: nii raamanooṭu as rehasyam paRaṇṇoo?

SP₂: illa (siitayooṭu paRaṇṇu?)
'No (told to Sita)'

For detailed exposition on the possible combinations of the above
mentioned possibilities in dialogue, and for a note on ellipsis with
same speaker with suitable examples from English see, Quirk *et al*
(1972:708-715). It is hoped that in exhaustive listing of all the
possible types of ellipsis in cognate languages will provide further
light on the identification and nature of the device. Although this
paper does not examine cognate evidences or examples it, at least,
pretends to pave way for the same by dealing with perhaps the
most crucial issue of the correct identification of elliptical
constructions.

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DRAVIDIAN INTERFERENCE IN SAURASHTRA SECONDARY VERBS

Norihiko Učida

Japan

0. Introduction

The Saurashtra language is spoken by the weaver community called Saurashtrans. It belongs to the Indo-Aryan linguistic family. The Saurashtrans inhabit most of the important cities and towns in Tamil Nadu and places adjacent to it like Bangalore, Tirupati, etc. All the adults are bilinguals or multilinguals and speak, besides their mother tongue, the official language of the states in which they live. According to their tradition, their original home was Saurashtra. However, it is not possible to pinpoint their place of origin by linguistic evidences.

As the Saurashtrans moved southwards their language was exposed to the influence of Dravidian languages, especially, Kannada, Telugu and Tamil. Therefore it has developed an almost fully Dravidian grammatical structure.

It is one of the common features of Indian languages that in a combination of two verbs, the first verb expresses the activity designated by the root and the second adds modal, aspectal, expressive or other meanings. The verbs that occupy the second position are called aspectal verbs, vector verbs, modal verbs, etc. However, I would like to call them secondary verbs when they can be also used as independent verbs, like H. *jānā*, G. *javu^N*, Ta. *pō-*, etc. 'to go'; and auxiliary verbs when they can not be used as main verbs, like H. *saknā*, G. *śakvu^N*, Saur. *sakk-/sekk-*. Auxiliary verbs are hardly known in Dravidian languages. *śakvu^N*, is the only auxiliary verb that Gujarati has.

In this article, I shall try to explain how the Dravidianization of the system of secondary/auxiliary verbs proceeded in the Saurashtra language.

2. Encounter of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan Systems

As is commonly known, when two languages come into contact, the two languages tend to develop a similar structure due to mutual interference, even when the languages in contact belong to different linguistic families. As such, we have a very similar system of secondary verbs in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. However, the following differences have still remained between Dravidian languages in South India and Indo-Aryan languages :

- a) The number of secondary verbs, especially that of expressive verbs¹, is higher in Indo-Aryan languages than in Dravidian languages. As a result, one Dravidian secondary verb sometimes corresponds to many Indo-Aryan secondary verbs.
- b) The verbal forms to which secondary verbs are attached are more numerous in Indo-Aryan languages than in Dravidian languages, e.g., Tamil secondary verbs follow either infinitives in *-a* or absolutes whereas in Gujarat they follow either verbals in *-vu^N*, *-va*, *-tu^N*, or absolutes. As a whole the Dravidian system looks more systematic than that of the Indo-Aryan languages.

A contrastive list of secondary verbs of Gujarati, Saurashtra and Tamil is given in Chart 1.

¹Expressive secondary verbs semantically occupy the position between pleonastic and modal/aspectal/benefactor-denoting verbs and designate speaker's emotional involvement, etc.

e.g.:

G. *nakh-* : *bədh^hu^N kəhi nakh^o*. (Cardona : 5.24.5.)

'say everything you have to say and have it done with'.

Chart 1: Contrastive list of secondary verbs

Gujarati	Saurashtra	Tamil	function
<i>V-i dé-</i> <i>V-i nak^h-</i> <i>V-i pad-</i> <i>V-i kad-</i> <i>V-i u^h-</i> <i>V-i pəḍ-</i> <i>V-i bēs-</i>	<i>V-i t(ak)-</i>	abs. <i>(vi)ḍ-</i>	expressive
<i>V-i ja-</i> <i>V-i lè-</i>	<i>V-i ḍ-</i> <i>V-i jā-</i>	abs. <i>(vi)ḍ-</i> abs. <i>(vi)ḍ-/pō-</i> abs. <i>pō-</i>	
	<i>V-i-l-</i>	abs. <i>koḷ-</i>	reflexive
<i>V-i dè-</i>	<i>V-i dē-</i>	abs. <i>koḍ-</i>	altro-benefactive
<i>V-i ap-</i>		abs. <i>tar-</i>	
<i>V-va dè</i>	inf. <i>soḍ-</i>	inf. <i>viḍ-</i>	permissive
<i>V-i rehyu^N</i> copula	<i>V-i-lēt</i> copula	abs. <i>koṇḍu</i> copula	continuous
<i>V-tu^N ja-</i>	<i>V-i-lēt jā-</i>	abs. <i>koṇḍu pō-</i>	continuous prospective
<i>V-tu^N av-</i>	<i>V-i-lēt av-</i>	abs. <i>koṇḍu var-</i>	continuous retrospective
<i>V-i cuk-</i>	_____	_____	resultative aspect
<i>V-va lag-</i>	inf. <i>nik^hḷ-</i>	inf. <i>toḍang-</i>	inceptive phase
_____	<i>V-i musaḍ-</i> <i>V-i mus-</i>	abs. <i>muḍi-(II)</i>	completive phase (vt.)
_____		_____	completive phase (vi.)
<i>V-i śək-</i>	inf. <i>sekk-/mus-</i>	inf. <i>muḍi-(VI)</i>	abilitative 'can'
<i>V-i jo-</i>	<i>V-i sā-</i>	abs. <i>pār-</i>	testive
<i>V-vu^N joie</i>	<i>V-no</i>	inf. <i>vēṇḍum</i>	obligatory, inferential, etc.
<i>V-vu^N peḍ-</i>	<i>V-no poḍ-</i>		
<i>V-vu^N copula</i>	<i>V-no copula</i>	inf. <i>kūḍādu</i>	prohibitive
_____	<i>V-a(n) hōnā</i>		

As Chart 1 reveals, if the proto-Saurashtra forms, which can be approximately reconstructed from Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi and Rajasthani forms, had no one-to-one correspondence with Dravidian forms, they have undergone changes and if they had corresponding forms, they have remained stable.

For instance, the verbs that mean 'to see' occur both in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages as secondary verbs in the meaning of 'to try to': G. *jo-*, H. *dek^h-*, Saur. *sā-*, Tel. *čūč-*, Tam. *pār*.

G. *cak^hi juo* 'Have a taste!' (Cardona : 5.24.8.)

Saur. *caki savo* 'Have a taste!'

Tam. *cāpiṭṭu pārunga* 'Have a taste!'

The verbs that mean 'to give' occur in both language families as secondary verbs in the meaning of 'for the sake of someone else':

G. *d-*, H. *de-*, Saur. *dē-*, Tam. *tar-*, *koḍ :*

G. *hu^N resto dek^haḍi dāis* 'I shall show you the way'.

Saur. *mī vāṭ dekkāḍi devusū*. 'I shall show you the way'.

Tam. *nān vaṇi kāmittu tarukirēn* 'I shall show you the way'.

In cases like the above, the proto-Saurashtra system has not undergone any change.

In contrast to these, when there is no one-to-one correspondence between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian verbal systems, the proto-Saurashtra system has adapted itself to the Dravidian system. Some examples will be given in the following paragraphs.

3.1. 'can' and 'to complete'

As G. *sək-*, H. *sak-* and Saur. *sakk-/sekk-* show that the proto-Saurashtra language used **sakk-* in the meaning of 'can'. In the literary Saurashtra, *sakk-/sekk-* (<*sakk-*) occurs often whereas in the colloquial style, *sakk-/sekk-* is almost obsolete. From the oldest document, the construction with *sakk-/sekk-* is already influenced by that with the Tamil equivalent *muḍi-* 'can'. The verbal form preceding *sakk-* in proto-Saurashtra, which was an absolutive like in Gujarati, was changed into purposive verbal adverbs in *-an*, which has almost given place to *-(a)ttakū* (a new formation imitating Tamil purposive infinitive in *-vadarku/-ppadarku*:

Saur. *mī yē kām keran/kerattakū sekkunā*.

'I cannot do this work'.

The problem, however, was not entirely solved by this alone: Whereas *sakk-/sekk-* is conjugated for the person and number, Tam. *muḍi* takes always neuter form and the agent, when it is expressed, occurs with instrumental case marker *-āl*:

Tam.: *ennāl inda vēlai ceyya muḍiyum.*
by me this work to do is possible
'I can do this work'.

Saur.: *mī yē kām keran sekku.*
I this work to do am able
'I can do this work'.
tū yē kām keran sekkayī.
thou this work to do art able
'You can do this work'.

An innovation like the following would have taken place if the Saurashtra language had not found another solution:

**more hāl yē kām keran sakkayī*
me by this work to do is able
'I can do this work.'

However, the Saurashtra language could solve the problem in an unexpected manner. Tam. *muḍi-*, when it is preceded by an absolutive, means 'to finish' (the second conjugation). Most probably, there was no secondary verb in the Saurashtra language for the completive phase¹, because Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi, Gujarati, Bengali, etc. do not have it. Probably, the proto-Saurashtra language had the verb *muc-* 'to be set free'. This was the optimal substitute for Tam. *muḍi-* because it has in addition to the semantic similarity a phonetic similarity too. Therefore, copying the following Tamil construction:

avan anda vēlai ceydu muḍittān.
he that work having-done finished
'He has completed that work.'

the Saurashtra language has introduced the following expression, in which *musat-* (causative of *mus-* < *muc-*) occurs as a secondary verb with the meaning 'to complete':

teno tē kām keri musatṭesi.
he that work having-done set-free
'He completed (to do) that work.'

¹This is a language universal tendency. Every language has an inceptive phase marker, but this need not be the case with a completive phase marker.

In the above construction, *musad-* has undergone the semantic change of 'to set free, to leave' > 'to complete'.

Once *musad* got established as the secondary verb denoting the completive phase, it acquired the meaning of 'can' by the following analogical formula:

Tam. abstrative + *muḍi*-(vt.) : Saur. abstrative + *musad-*
 'to finish' 'to finish'
 = Tam. infinitive + *muḍi*-(vi.) : Saur. infinitive + *mus-*
 'can' '?'

mus-, which was formerly conjugated for person and number, has acquired the legitimation of non-agreement by the above-given formula. The agent of the main verb is either omitted or expressed by the construction followed by the postposition *hāl* 'by', which is an agent/instrument marker:

Saur. *more hāl yē kām keran musayī.*
 me by this work to do is possible
 'I can do this work'.

cf. Tam. : *ennāl inda vēlai ceyyu muḍiyum.*
 by me this work to do is possible
 'I can do this work'.

3.2. Re-adjustment of the Expressive Secondary Verbs

The Tamil expressive secondary verb *(vi)ḍ-* ('to leave' as a main verb) corresponds to several secondary verbs in Indo-Aryan languages. The correspondence between modern Gujarati and Tamil secondary verbs can be summarized as follows:

<i>dè-</i>	_____		<i>(vi)ḍ-</i>
<i>nak^h-</i>	_____		
<i>paḍ-</i>	_____		
<i>uṭ^h-</i>	_____		
<i>pəḍ-</i>	_____		
<i>bès-</i>	_____		
<i>kaḍ^h-</i>	_____		
<i>lè-</i>	_____		
<i>ja-</i>	_____		<i>pō pōy viḍ-</i>
_____	_____		

Among *dè-*, *nak^h-*, *paḍ-*, *uṭ^h-*, *pəḍ-*, *bès-*, *kaḍ^h-*, and *lè-* only one has survived as Tamil has only *(vi)ḍ-* for all these.

dè- and *lè-* could not survive as expressive verbs because of the following reason. In Dravidian languages, the pair of the verbs, 'to give' \longleftrightarrow 'to take' belong to the system of denoting the contrast: *altro-benefactive* \longleftrightarrow *self-benefactive/reflexive*, and they are hardly used as mere expressive secondary verbs as in Indo-Aryan languages. As such, *dè-* and *lè-* have given up the function of denoting expressivity in the Saurashtra language.

uṭṭh-, *peḍ-* and *bès-* occur in Gujarati under the circumstances in which *viḍ-* occurs in Tamil. Each one of them is very specific in its meaning. Therefore, none of them can cover the wide range covered by Tam. *viḍ-*. Moreover, these verbs are intransitive verbs whereas Tam. *viḍ-* is a transitive verb. It is by these reasons they could not survive in the Saurashtra language.

G. *kaḍḥ* 'to take out' or its equivalent could not assert itself because it is semantically completely different from Tam. *viḍ-*.

Verbs, which can survive and extend their range of meaning to that of Tam. *viḍ-* are *nakḥ-*, *paḍ-* and any other verbs of similar meaning. As an equivalent of *nakḥ-*, proto-Saurashtra most probably had **tāk-* 'to cast, to leave' as supported by M. *ṭāk-* 'to cast, to leave'. Supported by Tam. *viḍ-*, **tāk-* has taken over the functions of the other expressive verbs. An example of the expressive constructions is given below:

teno yē poḷḷo kḥaytukayī ($< kḥayi *takayī$).
 he this fruit having-eaten will-cast
 'He will eat this fruit.'

The development of this verb into a secondary verb must have a very old history. Probably it even goes back to the time before the Saurashtrians entered Tamil Nadu, because:

- a) Tel. *vēs-* 'to put' must have triggered the extended function of the secondary verb *tak-* ($< *tāk-$);
- b) *tak-* as a secondary verb mostly occurs in its shortened form *-t-*, i.e., as a suffix. It must have taken a considerable time before a verb was reduced into a suffix.

teno yē poḷḷo kḥaytayī ($< *kḥayi takayī$).
 'He will eat this fruit'.

3.3. Expressive suffix *-ḍ-*

The development of Saurashtra secondary verbs can be in most cases explained easily by the influence of Tamil. However, the derivation of the expressive suffix *-ḍ-* is not very clear. *-ḍ-* functions as a suffix rather than a secondary verb except in the imperative

2nd person singular form, in which $-d-$ takes the form of $-de$, e.g.:

jēde 'Go away!'

The element of $-e$ suggests that $-de$ may be derived from $-dē-$ 'to give'. However, this explanation can not be accepted because Indo-Aryan $dē-$ is mostly attached to transitive verbs, but Saur. $-d-$ is attached to intransitive verbs. Another possibility is that $-d-$ is derived from $sod-$ 'to leave'. This cannot be justified because of the same reason.

Further, the hypothesis that Saur. $-d-$ is derived from Saur. $pod-$ (< Saur. $*pad-$) 'to fall' is phonetically acceptable. However, the Gujarati secondary verb $pəḍ-$, which occurs only with verbs denoting a sudden motion (Cardona: 1965, 5.24.6.), shows an entirely different distribution from that of $-d-$ in Saurashtra.

A more plausible hypothesis is that $-d-$ is a loan-morpheme from colloquial Tamil $-ḍ-$ (< $viḍ-$). If this is true, Saur. $-d-$ is the only morpheme among the functional morphemes in the Saurashtra verbal system that has been directly borrowed from Tamil. Therefore, we can not accept this theory without further supporting facts.

To examine this hypothesis, I have tested the distribution of $-d-$ in the Saurashtra language and I have compared it with that of its equivalents in Gujarati and Tamil in Chart 2.

Chart 2: Saurashtra $-d-$ and its equivalents

	Gujarati	Saurashtra	Tamil
to come	<i>avi ja-</i>	<i>avū-d-</i>	<i>vandu(vi)ḍ-</i>
to go	<i>(calyu^N ja-)</i>	<i>jē-d-</i>	<i>pōy(vi)ḍ-</i>
to be acquired	<i>məḷi ja-</i>	<i>abbu-d-</i>	<i>kiḍaittu(vi)ḍ-</i>
to die	<i>məri ja-</i>	<i>moj-jā-</i>	<i>cettup pō-</i>
to laugh	<i>hə^Nsi p d-</i> <i>hə^Nsi uṭ^h-</i>	<i>hasu-lū-d-</i> <i>has-t-</i>	<i>cirittu(vi)ḍ-</i>
to start	<i>(jalu^N rəh-)</i>	<i>nikuḷu-d-</i>	<i>kiḷambi(vi)ḍ-</i>
to fall	<i>pəḍi ja-</i>	<i>pol-lu-d-</i>	<i>viḇndu(vi)ḍ-</i>
to be born	—	<i>uju-lū-d-</i>	<i>piṛandu(vi)ḍ-</i>
to sleep	<i>sui ja-</i>	<i>niṇju-lū-d-</i>	<i>tūṇgi(vi)ḍ-/pō-</i>
to burn	<i>səḷgi ja-</i>	<i>jaḷi jā-</i> <i>jaḷ-lu-d-</i>	<i>eṛindu(vi)ḍ-/pō-</i>
to rot	<i>səḍi ja-</i>	<i>naj-jā-</i>	<i>keṭṭu(vi)ḍ-/pō-</i>
to run	<i>dəḍi ja-</i>	<i>d^hamū-d-</i>	<i>ōḍi(vi)ḍ-/pō-</i>
to get up	<i>uṭ^hi ja-</i>	<i>huṭ-t-</i> <i>huṭ-lu-d-</i>	<i>eḇndu(vi)ḍ-/pō</i>

Tam. abs. + *pō-* in the above chart can be again extended by *(vi)ḍ-*, e.g.: *cettup pōy viḍ-* 'to die'. This suggests us that *pō-* has almost become pleonastic.

The following relation can be found between Saur. *-ḍ-* and its equivalent in Gujarati and Tamil language.

		Tamil
abs. + <i>ja-</i>	[] abs. + <i>jā-</i>	abs. + <i>pō-</i>
		abs. + <i>(vi)ḍ-/pō-</i>
		abs. + <i>(vi)ḍ-</i>

Roughly speaking, if Gujarati abs. + *ja-* corresponds to Tam. abs. + *pō-*, the Saurashtra language follows the Gujarati construction, e.g.:

G.: *raja mēri gəyo.*

Saur.: *rajo mojjyo.*

Tam.: *aracan cettup pōnān.*

'The king died'.

However, if G. abs. + *ja-* corresponds to Tam. abs. + *(vi)ḍ-*, *-ḍ-* occurs in Saurashtra; e.g.:

G.: *raja avi gəyo.*

Saur.: *rajo avḍyo.*

Tam.: *aracan vandu viṭṭān.*

'The king came'.

Therefore, we can conclude that Saur. *-ḍ-* occurs in the circumstances under which *-(vi)ḍ-* occurs in Tamil and *ja-* (and not *pəḍ-*) in Gujarati. This distributional characteristics supports the hypothesis that Saur. *-ḍ-* is derived from the Tamil expressive suffix *-ḍ-*.

3.4. Re-adjustment of *dē-* 'give' and *lē-* 'take'

In Indian languages, the pair of the verbs meaning 'to give' and 'to take' designate the contrast of:

altro-benefactive \longleftrightarrow self-benefactive/reflexive.
(to give) (to take)

In addition to that, both 'to give' and 'to take' perform also the function of expressive verbs in Indo-Aryan languages like Bengali, Hindi, Gujarati, etc. The relation can be illustrated as given below:

Indo-Aryan

Dravidian

<div style="border: 1px dashed black; width: 100px; height: 30px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>					
to give		to	take		to give
		to	take		to take
<div style="border: 1px dashed black; width: 100px; height: 30px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>					

——— : system of altro-benefactive \leftrightarrow self-benefactive/
reflexive;
..... : system of expressivity.

For instance, in the following Gujarati sentences

tè^N dud^h veci did^hu^N.

he milk having-sold gave

'He has sold up milk.'

hu^N kage! va^Nci dāiś.

I letter having-read shall give

'I shall read the letter for you'

In the former sentence *dè-* has an expressive function and in the latter it has an altro-benefactive function.

In the Dravidian languages, the device of self-benefactive expression, i.e., 'to take' is not burdened with the function of expressiveness. Therefore, it has become a highly developed system of reflexivity comparable to that of Italian, French, Spanish, etc. Under the influence of Dravidian, 'to take' in the Saurashtra language has given up the function of expressivity and developed a system of reflexivity/self-benefactivity, which is parallel to that of Tamil. The commonest functions of 'to take' are given below with the Tamil forms:

a) Reflexivity:

Tamil: *nān kai verrinēn.* (non-reflexive)

I hand chopped.

'I chopped off a hand'.

nān kai verrik koṇḍēn. (reflexive)

I hand having-chopped took.

'I chopped off my hand'.

Saurashtra: *mī hāt kaṭeṣi.* (non-reflexive)

I hand chopped.

'I chopped off my hand'.

mī hāt kaḷḷeṣi. (reflexive)

I hand having-chopped took

'I chopped off my hand'.

b) **Mutuality :**

Tamil : *avarkaḷ dinacari caṇḍai aḍittuk koḷkiṛarkaḷ.*
they every day quarrel having-done. take (pl.)
'Every day they quarrel each other'.

Saurashtra : *tenu niccu mallan*
they every day having-quarrelled take (pl.)
'Every day they quarrel each other'.

c) **For oneself :**

Tamil : *cāppāḍuc cāppiṭṭuk koḷḷuṅgaḷ.*
meal having-eaten take !
'Have the meal yourself (later on) !'

Saurashtra : *b^hāt k^hayluvo.*
meal having-eaten take !
'Having the meal yourself (later on) !'

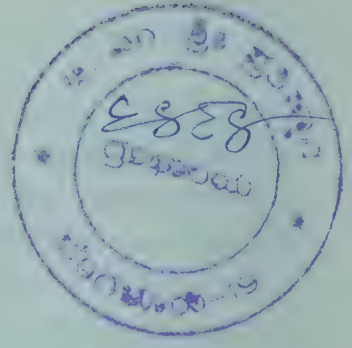
The verb with the meaning 'to take' has another function in Malayalam and Tamil languages. As a secondary verb, it denotes a continuous or frequentative mode of action, e.g. in Tamil :

avan azuduk koṇḍu irukkiṛān.
he having-wept having-taken is
'He is always weeping'.

The Saurashtra language has adopted this device following the Tamil model :

teno roḷḷēt (<roḍ-lētū) sē.
he weeping-taking is
'He is always weeping'.

The Saurashtra construction 'absolute + 'lē tū' is a compromise of Indo-Aryan and Tamil constructions. The occurrence of *lē-* 'take' is because of Tamil influence, but the imperfect marker *-tū* is of Indo-Aryan origin.



NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

A BRIEF NOTE ON TELUGU LEXICOGRAPHY

L. K. Malleswara Rao

Andhra University

'Anuśāsana', 'abhidāna', 'kōśa' and 'nighaṇṭu' are the synonyms used to mean a dictionary in Sanskrit. Among these 'nighaṇṭu' is the oldest form. This term has different shades of meaning in Vedic Sanskrit and classical Sanskrit. Yāska's 'Nirukta' defines the dictionary as 'Samāmnāyassamāmnātaḥ Savyākhyātavyaḥ-tamiyam Samāmnāyam nighaṇṭavaḥ ityācakṣate' which means that they are 'nigamas' as they clarify the meaning of vedas, they are nighaṇṭus as they give knowledge of meaning, they are 'Samāhantus' as they are studied with respect and they are 'Samāhartus' as they are antholised from the vedic mantras. In classical Sanskrit, nighaṇṭu is defined as 'Nitarām ghaṇṭayati bhāṣayati iti nighaṇṭuvaḥ' meaning that which says well.

The Dictionaries in Telugu are classified into various groups and only dictionaries of Telugu to Telugu are discussed in this paper leaving bilingual and other dictionaries.

Verse Dictionaries :

In the beginning stages of Telugu Literature the Telugu poets used the Sanskrit dictionaries for their reference. The first dictionary in Telugu came out only in the form of poems influenced by Sanskrit. Thus Gaṇapavarapu Vēṇkeṭa Kavi, composed the first dictionary containing 108 poems using the metre 'śīsa' with the makuṭa (last line in a poem) Pañkajāpta nīkāśa Vēṇkatēśa in the year 1684 by name 'Vēṇkatēśāndhramu'. In the same manner Paiḍipāṭi Lakṣmaṇa Kavi compiled a dictionary by name 'Āndhranāma saṅgrahamu' containing five cantoes namely Dēva, mānava, Sthāvara, tiryak and nānārtha vargus containing 208 poems

in toto. He is supposed to compile this work during the last decade of the eighteenth century. Aḍidamu Sūrakavi (1750-1780) compiled 'Āndhra nāmaśēṣamu' as a supplement to 'Āndhra nāma saṅgrahamu' containing 78 poems. Kastūri Rangakavi (1740-1760) compiled a metric dictionary by name 'Sāmba nighaṇṭuvu' containing 344 poems in five cantoes as 'Āndhra nāmasaṅgrahamu'. Arranging the vocabulary of the above dictionaries in alphabetical order C. P. Brown compiled a dictionary by name Karkambāḍi nighaṇṭuvu which was not published. Poet Chouḍappa of the Seventeenth century compiled 78 poems in sīsa metre to form a dictionary. These poems were published in the journal of Madras Government oriental manuscripts library in 1950. Nudurupāṭi Veṅkayya of the eighteenth century compiled Āndhra bhāṣāraṇavamamu in three cantoes. Sarvāndhra 'Sārasaṅgrahamu' was compiled by Amalapurapu Sanyasinayudu which was unpublished. Tyāḍapūsapāṭi Vīraparāju, Zamindar of Pācipeṇṭa compiled a dictionary by name 'Āndhra padākaramu'. Āndhra Padanidānamamu of Tūmu Rāmadāsu is a dictionary containing native vocabulary alone. 'Jayarāma nānaytha nighaṇṭuvu' by K. Jayarāma Rao is an exhaustive dictionary on synonyms written in metric form, which was not published. Nānārtha nighaṇṭuvu of Sitarāma Sōmayāji, Nānārtha Śatakamu by K. Mallikārjuna Rao, Nānārtha dīpika by Mulugu Chandramouli Śāstri are worthy of mentioning among the dictionaries of synonyms compiled in metric form. Dēśyanānārtha Kōśamu of Rāmayaṇam Krishnamācharyā is of a special type among the dictionaries of synonyms, composed in metric form. Synonyms for Telugu words are given from Prakrits and other Dravidian languages in this dictionary.

As all the above dictionaries are compiled in verse they are not useful for ready reference for a reader of literature unless they are got by heart. This difficulty necessitated the compilation of dictionaries in alphabetical order which has the influence of English lexicography.

Alphabetical Dictionaries:

Māmiḍi Veṅkayya compiled a dictionary in the alphabetical order by name 'Āndhradīpika' in the year 1816 confined to the vocabulary of old literature. This Dictionary got published in 1848. As an appendix to Āndhradīpika, Ōrugallu Padajālamu was also prepared, the author of which is supposed to be that of Āndhradīpika. The manuscript of this Ōrugallu padajālamu is available now in Government Oriental Manuscripts Library in Madras.

With the enthusiasm created by Āndhradīpika, Chinnayasūri started to compile a dictionary by name Andhra dhātumala, which was not completed and even the manuscript of which is not available now. In 1873 Mahamkāli Subbārāyudu published 'Śabdārtha chandrika' for the use of Pandits which got republished many a time.

Bahujanapalli Sītā Rāmā Chāryulu felt the necessity of having a Telugu dictionary with citations from literature. He prepared first mini dictionaries namely 'Laghu Koumudi,' 'Bālacandrō-dayamu,' 'Vaikṛta dīpika' and 'Vibhakti chandrika' and then compiled Sabdaratnākaramu, a famous dictionary, published in 1885.

The above dictionaries could not make justice to the native vocabulary. Hence Gurajāḍa Śrīrāma mūrty and Ōgirāla Jagannātha Kavi compiled Āndhra Pada Pārijātamu which was published in 1887. In the same manner Koṭra Lakshminārāyana Sāstry compiled Lakshminārāyanīyamu in 1907. Marēpalli Rāmachandra Sāstry started to compile a dictionary by name 'Telugu nuḍikaḍali' but it was not completed. Musunūri Venkata Sastry published a dictionary by name Āndhranāma Sarvasvamu alias Telugu nuḍikaḍali. The first volume of this dictionary was published in 1971 and the second and third volumes in 1982.

A major dictionary by name 'Sūryarāyandhra nighaṇṭuvu' was started with the aid of Rajah of Piṭhāpuram in 1930 by Sri. Jayanti Rāmayya Pantulu and others. This dictionary was published in eight volumes, starting from 1936. By 1958 Seven volumes were published and the eighth volume came only in the year 1974. This dictionary covers a major part of the Telugu vocabulary including all categories and identifies the vocabulary as Tatsama, Tadbhava, dēśya, grāmya and anyadēśya. Citations from literature, inscriptions and even from colloquial usages are given and cognates are also shown. This dictionary was republished as it is by A. P. Sahitya Akademi in 1982, which was recently transformed as a part of Telugu University.

Sri Koṭra Śyāmala Kāma Śāstry, concentrating on synonyms compiled Āndhra vācaspatyamu and published in four volumes during 1934-40. It was republished in 1953. Vāvilla Rāmaswāmy Śāstrulu and sons of Madras published a dictionary with citations from Telugu literature, with the assistance of the Pandits namely Śrīpāda Lakṣmī-pathy Śāstry, Bulusu Vēnkatēśwarlu and Vēdam Lakṣminārāyana Śāstry. This dictionary is called 'Vāviḷḷa nighaṇṭuvu' and it is available in four volumes, which also shows synonyms and polysemy. Chelamacherla Rangācharyulu published a dictionary by name Andhra

Śabda Ratnākaramu through Vēnkatrāma and Co. in three volumes during 1967-70. This dictionary shows some etymologies, variants, synonyms and explanations to the compounds. In addition to the above, narration of puranic stories and meanings for proverbs and idioms are also given in this dictionary.

Śabdārtha dīpika, another dictionary compiled by Musunūri Veṅkaṭa Śāstry in 1956, deals with the Ayurvedic vocabulary also. Śabdārtha Ratnākaramu is another dictionary, which also includes Ayurvedic vocabulary in addition to the general vocabulary compiled by Sri Vāraṇāsi Venkatēśwarlu and Utpala Vēṅkata Rangāchāryulu. It was published in 1972.

Laghu Kōśamu by D. V. P. Bhujaṅga Śarma published in 1956, Ramachandra Vidyārthi Kōśamu by Pūtalapaṭṭu Śri Rāmulu Reddy and Taḷḷūru Arumugam Pillai published in 1961, and Telugu nighaṇṭuvu by Prof. G. N. Reddy published in 1973 are the dictionaries in alphabetical order prepared for the use of students. Another most important dictionary in this series is Vidyārthi Kalpataruvu compiled by Musunūri Veṅkata Sastry and published five times by Venkatrama and Co. since 1952. It contains 27 chapters covering all the necessary material for not only students but also scholars.

Inscriptional Dictionaries :

There are two dictionaries dealing with the inscriptional vocabulary, one by Sri Kundūri Īswara Dutt by name 'Śāsana Śabdakōśamu and the other by B. Radhakrishna by name Prācīnāndhra Śāsanālu : published by Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi in 1967 and 1971 respectively.

Dialect Dictionaries :

There is always much difference between the literary and colloquial usage of language. Telugu is not an exception for this which contains many dialects both regional and occupational. Almost all of the old literary works did not contain the dialective vocabulary except that of Haṁsa Viṁśati. The literary works which come in 18th and 19th centuries contain some dialect words. The first dictionary which recorded some of these words is that of William Brown's Telugu English Dictionary published in 1818. Meckenzie's Kaifiyats and letters of C. P. Brown contain thousands of dialect words. Prof. T. Donappa stressed the need for the compilation of a comprehensive dialect dictionary.

Recognising the above need A. P. Sahitya Akademi, under the supervision of Prof. Bh. Krishnamurti started the compilation of

dialect dictionaries. In this series Agriculture and Vāstu (Architecture) were prepared by Bh. Krishnamurti himself and Handloom by Dr. B. Radhakrishna and Pottery by G. N. Reddy were published. Blacksmith's and Goldsmith's dictionary and dictionary of fishing and other occupational dictionaries are being compiled. Many dictionaries relating to various occupations are yet to come. Marupūri Kōdaṇḍa Rāma Reddy prepared and published a dialect dictionary (regional) by name Māṇḍalikapadakōśamu in 1970 through A. P. Sahitya Akademi.

Dictionaries of Idioms :

Idioms or proverbs are invaluable wealth of any language. They can be formed into separate interesting dictionaries. In this category 'Telugu Jāteeyālu' an anthology of idioms in two volumes was published in 1940 by Sri Nālamu Krishna Rao. A. P. Sahitya Akademi published a dictionary named 'Padabandha Pārijātamū' in 1959 compiled by Nārila Vēṅkatēśwara Rao, Vidwan Viswam and Timmāvajjhala Kōdaṇḍa Rāmayya. Tirumala Rāmachandra published an anthology of some idioms with explanations in 1963. Another anthology on idioms with explanation is 'Jāteeyālu puṭṭu pūrvōttarālu' by Sri Raṇṭāla Gōpala Krishna published in 1967.

Concordances :

Concordances are the alphabetical arrangement of principal words contained in a book with citations of the passages in which they occur. We can learn, the semantic change, limitation of meaning, vividness of usage and frequency of words through concordances.

As far as the compilation of concordances is concerned C. P. Brown is said to be the first, who, with the help of pandits prepared the concordances for Manucaritra, Āmuktamālyada, Daśāvatāra caritra and Saśāṅkavijayamu. But they are not available now.

Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi published 'Nannaya Pada Prayōga Kōśamu' in 1960, 'Nannechōḍa Pada Prayōga Sūchika' in 1962 and 'Tikkana Pada Prayōga Kōśamu' in three volumes in 1971. 'Srinātha Pada Prayōga Kosamu' in two volumes was published in 1966 and 1971. 'Tāḷḷapākavāri Palukubalḷu' is another concordance dealing with the literature of Tāḷḷapāka poets compiled by K. Ramalakshmi and published by A. P. Sahitya Akademi in 1971.

Telugu Etymological Dictionary

Compilation of Telugu Etymological Dictionary was started by Andhra University in English first in 1957. Due to

various reasons the proposal was transformed to compile this dictionary only in Telugu. The first volume (a – ou) of this dictionary was published in 1978 by Andhra University. Upto now six volumes (ka-gh second volume, ca-na third volumes, ta-na fourth volume, pa-bha fifth volume and m sixth volume) are published. The printing work of the two volumes (ya-va seventh volume and sa-ha eighth volume) is in good progress. The remaining volumes of the dictionary are excepted to be released soon. This is the first dictionary in the world of lexicography having the historical comparative and descriptive qualities. It covers all the vocabulary except that of tatsama words (i.e., Sanskrit equivalents) which have not undergone any semantic change. The meanings are arranged in chronological order. The cognates of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan words are shown in this dictionary. Finally the root is also traced in this dictionary.

The lexicons mentioned above have a definite area fixed for themselves severally. The need for a comprehensive dictionary taking into account all the facets of a lexicon is yet to be full-filled and we hope that such a work will soon see the light.

ENCYCLOPAEDIAE MAKING IN INDIAN LANGUAGES*

P. T. Bhaskara Panikkar

Trivandrum

Encyclopaedias in the modern meaning came to be published in India as a result of Western contacts. The first Encyclopaedia compiled in India was in English. The Encyclopaedia printed in the Scottish, Lawrence and Foster presses in 1835 was named 'The Encyclopaedia of India and South East Asia - Mines - Plants - Animal Worlds and the Arts and the products of manufacturers'. It was published by Edward Balfour, the Inspector General of the Hospitals of the Madras Regiment and Member of the Imperial Geological Institute, Vienna. A Second Edition of this Encyclopaedia was published in 1873.

Bengali

The Bhāratīya Vijnāna Kōsam (1888) (The Indian Encyclopaedia) in Bengali was the first Encyclopaedia in any Indian language. It was published by Rengalal Mukhyopadhyaya and Nagendra Basu. It consisted of 22 volumes and it took nearly 25 years for its completion. The titles are arranged alphabetically. The influence of Encyclopaedia Britanica can be clearly seen. Work for another Encyclopaedia viz., Bangīya Mahākoś was started in 1934. But only two volumes came out. Between 1939-45, Yogendranath Gupta published an Encyclopaedia in 10 volumes named Śīśubhārati. The "Ñānabhārati" of Mukhyopadhyaya Prabhat Kumar is a Mini Encyclopaedia in two volumes. Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi of Hemachandra is an Encyclopaedia of Sanskrit in Bengali script.

Gujarati

In Gujarati, the work for an Encyclopaedia began in 1899. E. F. Sena took up the editorial responsibilities and the work was

*A brief note prepared on the basis of the articles in Visva Vijnāna Kōśam (Malayalam — Vol. 2, pp. 975-903).

completed in 1918. The result was "Nānacakrayānā Gujarati Encyclopaedia" in 9 volumes published in Bombay.

Hindi

The first Encyclopaedia in Hindi was published by Nāgendranath Bisu, who was also the publisher of the first Bengali Encyclopaedia. He spent nearly 16 years from 1915 to 1931 for this purpose and the "Hindi Viśvakōś" was published in 25 volumes of 500 pages each. During 1935-36, there was a plan to revise this Encyclopaedia, but only two revised volumes were published. Another Encyclopaedia, "Hindi Visvabhāratī" was revised by Narayana Caturvedi and Krishna Vallabha Dvivedi and the second edition in six volumes was published at Lucknow during 1958-60. This Encyclopaedia deals with all subjects. The first edition contained only five volumes. Dharendra Varma, Bhagavat Saran Upadhyaya, Ghorak Prasad and Bhulla Dev Sahay published the "Hindi Viśvakōś" from Varanasi. Till 1970 only 11 volumes were published.

Marathi

It was in 1878 that attempts were made by J. M. Arelia for compiling an Encyclopaedia in Marathi. But he could publish only a sample volume of his Vidyamala. Later Sridhar Venkitesh Kelkar (during 1920-29) published from Puna "Mahārāṣṭriya Nāmakōś" in 23 volumes. Attempts were also being made to compile on "Mahārāṣṭra Viśvakōś" in the model of Encyclopaedia Britannica under the auspices of Maharashtra State Cultural and Literary Samiti. Lakshmana Sastri Joshi is the Chief Editor. This Encyclopaedia will be in 19 volumes, each volume having nearly 1000 pages.

Oriya

There are three Encyclopaedias in Oriya language. Utkal University is publishing one "Samkṣipta Nāmakōś". Another Encyclopaedia viz., 'Nānamaṇḍala' is proposed to be published in 60 volumes of 200 pages each. Some volumes have already been published.

Urdu

In Urdu, a single volume Encyclopaedia was compiled by Dr. Abdul Wahib which was published in Lahore in 1962.

Tamil

The first Encyclopaedia in Tamil 'Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi' was compiled in 1970. It deals with the customs of the people, literature and nature and life history. The popular "Kalaikkalāñciyam" was

published by the Tamil Valarci Kazhakam with the help of the State and Central Governments and other voluntary organisations. The work was started in 1947. So far 9 volumes of 750 pages each have been published. More than 1900 writers contributed articles. There are more than 9000 titles in alphabetic order.

Telugu

The work of compiling an Encyclopaedia in the model of Encyclopaedia Britanica was started in 1912 by Kamaraj Venkata Lakshmana Rao. Every month 100 pages of a volume were published and by 1920, three volumes were completely published. In 1926-27, these volumes were improved by Desodharaka Nageswara Rao.

Andhra Vijñānamu in 7 volumes was published in 1938-41, by Balasurya Prasada Rao. Articles were alphabetically arranged. After independence, under the presidency of B. Gopala Reddy, the Telugu Bhāṣāsamiti was formed and an Advisory Board for an Encyclopaedia named "Vijñāna Sarvasvamu" formulated a project. First the proposal was for compiling 12 volumes. Later, it was revised to 16 volumes of 750 paper each. Each volume deals with one broad subject. Till 1965, 10 volumes were published.

Kannada

In 1930 Siva Rama Karant published "Bālaprapaṇca" in 3 volumes of 1500 pages each. Though meant for children, it is also useful for grown ups, because of the range of subjects. Later, Karant edited a scientific Encyclopaedia in 5 volumes. Under the auspices of the State Government, work was started in 1960 to compile an Encyclopaedia in 10 volumes of 1000 pages each, in the model of Encyclopaedia Britanica. 30000 subjects would be comprehensively dealt with. This would be completed in 10 years. In 1954, when K. V. Puttappa was the Professor of Kannada, he proposed the Encyclopaedia project. The proposal was for compiling an Encyclopaedia in 12 volumes of 800 pages each, in 6 years. Later, the proposal was revised and the decision to publish 10 volumes of 1000 pages each was taken. This responsibility was entrusted with the Kannada Institute of the Mysore University. Again the decision was changed and another to publish the Encyclopaedia in 14 volumes dealing with 45000 subjects was made.

A junior Encyclopaedia - Nāna Gangōtri - is also to be published with Government aid.

Malayalam

The "Samasta Vijñāna Grandhāvali" (1936-37) was compiled by R. Eswara Pillai to serve as a reference book containing all

branches of knowledge. He had started to work 35 years ago. This work contains different subjects, alphabetically arranged with an introduction in 8 pages. Five such volumes were published. The work is in complete. This work is Encyclopaedic in nature.

Mathew M. Kuzhiveli edited an Encyclopaedia in Malayalam. He took 'Childrens' Encyclopaedia of Arthur Me as his model. He classified knowledge into Universe, Earth, Matter, Energy, Life, Fauna, Flora, Man, Cultural Man, Intellectuals, Moralists, Ancient Civilizations, Great Men of the World, Countries and People. All these subjects are there in each volume. Under each category, there are articles prepared by Scholars. The works *Vijñānam-Malayalam Popular Encyclopaedia* was started in 1956. The first volume was published in 1957 and subsequently 5 volumes were published in 1960, 61, 64, 66 and 68. There are 7217 pages in total and line drawings and pictures are also included.

Under the auspices of the State Government, the work for *Sarvavijñāna Kōśam* was started in 1962. The proposal was to compile the Encyclopaedia in 10 volumes, of nearly 1000 pages, each containing 40000 titles. Later the proposal was revised. The plan is to compile 20 volumes containing 30000 titles.

In 1967, the Vidyarthi Mitram Press, Kottayam published a single volume – Malayalam Desk Encyclopaedia. It contains 2000 alphabetically arranged titles and 1504 pages. The articles are short. Another Children's Encyclopaedia '*Vijñāna Maṇḍalam*' in 800 pages was also published by the same press. Here, knowledge is classified into Universe, Earth, Man, Culture etc.

The Puranic Encyclopaedia of Vettam Mani is in four volumes.

An Encyclopaedia dealing with Literary Subjects namely *Sahitya-Vijñāna Kōśam* was published in 1969.

Viśvavijñāna Kōśam, in Malayalam was the result of the efforts of the Sahitya Pravartaka Sahakarana Sangham (Writer's Co-operative Society). The work was completed in 69 months. *Viśvavijñāna Kōśam* contains 10 volumes of 1000 pages each. Energy. Mathematics, History, Painting, Life Sciences, Economics, Dance. Geology, Folklore, Anthropology, Music, Technology, all these subjects are dealt with. The original plan was to publish an Encyclopaedia in 10 volumes of 1000 pages each in the model of Encyclopaedia Britanica. The work was started in 1967. An Advisory Committee was set up under the presidentship of K. P. S. Menon and a panel of consulting editors in all the subjects was also set up.

The method adopted in this work is to give a precise and comprehensive description of all subjects. A diversion is made in the case of the articles pertaining to Kerala. There are larger articles, short articles and small write ups. More than 12000 titles are given. The titles are alphabetically arranged. Not only Malayalam words, but also words which are internationally popular – even if they belong to some other language – have been taken as titles. Some people are known by their house names and some by their place names. But only their names are given as titles. Initials and degrees are added after the names, eg. Paramesvara Iyer S. Ulloor. But some names like Kadamattattu Kattannar, Akavur Chattan are given as such. In the case of Christian names, the surname is given first, eg. Churchill, Sir, Winston. The 10th volume, provides an index. In every volume there are a few colour photos. Along with long articles and some short articles, bibliography is given for further reading. More than 1000 authors contributed articles. The articles were verified by the panel of consulting editors. Only the abbreviations of the contributor's name is given at the end of invited articles. Their full names along with abbreviations are given at the end of the 10th volume. The articles, the authorship of which not given, were prepared in the editorial office. An inventory of the abbreviations of commonly used terms is given in the beginning. There are more than 8000 pictures. It was decided that the pictures included should also convey some new information. Modern subjects were introduced to the possible extent and attempt is also made to reflect the changing world situation.

In 1968 a format of *Viśvavijñāna Kōśam* was printed and circulated to elicit the opinions and suggestions for improvement. Such suggestions were duly considered.

Viśvavijñāna Kōśam was the result of collective efforts. The first two volumes were published in April, 1970 and the other volumes were published by the end of December, 1972.

SUBJECT OF GERUNDS IN BANGLA — CASE MARKING

Mina Dan

*Indian Statistical Institute
Calcutta*

1. Introduction :

In Bangla gerund words are very productively formed by adding one of the two gerund suffixes to any regular verb root. The two gerund suffixes (irrespective of their phonological variations) are *Wa/no* and *ba*¹. For example,

1. with *Wa/no* :

- (a) *nac-a* 'dancing'
- (b) *ja-Wa* 'going'
- (c) *pala-no* 'escaping'

2. with *ba* :

kha-ba 'eating'

Bangla gerund words belong to a 'transferred category' or a 'semi-colon category' [V; N], which may be placed at the mid-point of a route joining the verb and the noun categories, i. e., the category [V; N] may indicate the items that are at the same time verbal in some features and nominal in others.

The justification behind postulating this transferred category [V; N] is that in Bangla gerund words are, in fact, both verbal as well as nominal at the same time. Syntactically, on the one hand, in accordance with their verbal features gerund words take adverbs, objects, negative markers etc., while on the other hand, because of

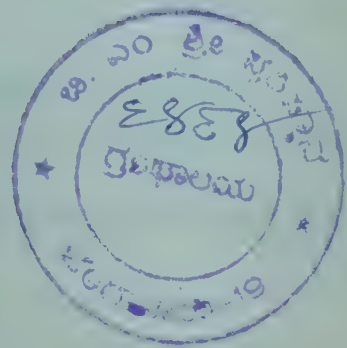
For transcription I follow Ray et al. (1966): E is a low front vowel, O is a low back vowel (unrounded and rounded, respectively). T, D, R are retroflex, N is velar, S is palato-alveolar, Y, W are the mid counterparts of y, w. M indicates nasalization of the vowel or diphthong immediately preceding it.

their nominal features they respond to case inflections and the classifier *Ta*. Moreover, the innovation involved in the transferred category [V; N] is directional, i. e., it indicates a starting point V, and a target N.

However, since how far the innovation of a transferred category is tenable is not the point that I want to make in this paper, let us accept this assumption to proceed with.

In Bangla, a [V; N] forms a G(erund) P(hrase) that occurs either as an NP or in a PP. Let us assume that the PS rule for the GPs in Bangla are as follows:

- R - 1. (a) $\overline{\overline{N}} \rightarrow (\overline{\overline{N}}) \overline{\overline{N}}$
 (b) $\overline{\overline{N}} \rightarrow (\text{DET}) [\overline{\overline{V}}; \overline{\overline{N}}]$
 (c) $[\overline{\overline{V}}; \overline{\overline{N}}] \rightarrow (\overline{\overline{N}}) (\overline{\overline{N}}) (\text{adv}) [\overline{\overline{V}}; \overline{\overline{N}}]$
 (d) $\overline{\overline{P}} \rightarrow \overline{\overline{N}} \overline{\overline{P}}$



For example,

3. (a) $\begin{bmatrix} [SEmer\ ey\ jel\ bheNe\ pulano] \\ S\ NP \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} [khub\ SahoSer\ kaj] \\ NP \end{bmatrix}$

Shyam-Gen this jail break-escaping very courageous task
 'this breaking out of jail by Shyam is very courageous'

- b) $\begin{bmatrix} [and] \\ S\ NP \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} [tomar\ na\ aSa] \\ PP\ NP \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} [obdi] \\ P \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} [Opekkha\ korbo] \\ V \end{bmatrix}$

I you-Gen not coming until wait shall-do
 'I shall wait until you come'

2. The Problem:

The optional NP in the first expansion of the PS rule for gerunds, i. e., R-1, is the subject of the gerund. The present paper deals with the problem of the different case marking of the subject NP of a gerund in a GP as NP.

Bangla has four case markers: nominative (\emptyset); objective; genitive and locative. In the examples of (3), in (a) *SEmer* and in (b) *tomar*, the subjects of these two sentences are marked with genitive case. But in the examples of (4) notice that the case is different;

4. (a) *Siikale derite rod oThai Sabhabik*

winter-Loc late-Loc sun-shine rising-Emp normal
 'in the winter the late brightening of sunshine is normal'

- (b) *e rastaY moTor cOla bOndho*
 this road-Loc car going prohibited
 'cars are prohibited on this road'

In these two sentences the subjects, viz., *rod* and *moTor*, have taken nominative (\emptyset) case marking. Both Dasgupta (1979, 1980) and Klaiman (1981) notice these cases and both of them term the subjects of the second set, i.e., of example no. 4, as the nominative marked subjects of the gerunds. However, such a claim entails that the genitive case marking of the subject of the gerund is the unmarked phenomenon.

Thus the problem is, precisely, how do we account for these two different case markings of the subject of gerunds in Bangla.

3. Genitive of the Subject of GPs as NPs :

In this section I shall account for the unmarked case marking viz , genitive-marking, of the subject of the gerunds.

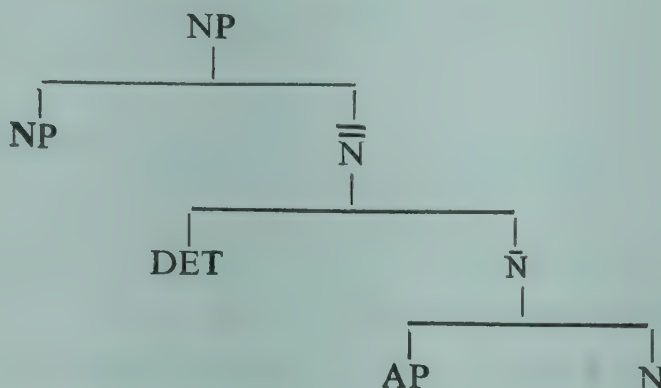
I shall assume that the genitive of the subject is structurally assigned (Chomsky : 1981 : 50, 165) as follows :

R-2. The structure $[NP \bar{N}]$ itself assigns genitive to the NP

This rule is well-motivated as in Bangla this rule applies not only in the case of the GP type of NP, but also to the case of any other NPs, e.g.

5. (a) *amar ey bORo baRi*
 I-Gen this big house
 'this big house of mine'
- (b) *ramer Sey kukur*
 Ram-Gen that dog
 'that dog of Ram's'
- (c) *rinar kalo beRal*
 Rina-Gen black cat
 'Rina's black cat'
- (d) *kajoler boy*
 Kajal-Gen book
 'Kajal's book'

The forms of 5 have the structure :



Thus in Bangla, structural case assignment of genitive is supported by more than one existing structure.

Moreover, it does not stand against the claim that genitive is the unmarked case for the subject of gerunds, made by Dasgupta and Klaiman.

4. Nominative of the Subject of GPs as NPs:

The so called subjects of the forms of 4, viz., *rod moTor* pose a problem for R-2. Because as the subjects of the gerunds they ought to have an \bar{N} sister and thus the resulting structure [NP \bar{N}] must assign genitive marking to these subject NPs. Instead they have nominative marking.

As I mentioned before Dasgupta (1979, 1980) terms these as the nominative marked subjects of the gerunds, but he does not account for the problem.

Klaiman (1981:60) also claims such cases to be nominative case-marked inanimate subjects and she mentions a feature [\pm Animate] to be responsible for the change of the subject case marking.

However, Klaiman's assumption of the feature [\pm Animate] does not hold good throughout because though the [$-$ Animate] subjects show nominative, yet there are cases where even [$+$ Animate] subjects also show nominative, e.g.

6. (a) *bhcre jhi na aSa khub OSubidher*

early-morning-Loc maid-servant not coming very inconvenient-Gen

'maid-servant's not coming early in the morning is very inconvenient'

- (b) *otithiSalaY otithi thakai to Sabhabik*
 guest-house-Loc guest staying-Emp of-course normal
 'it is, of course, normal for there to be guests staying at the
 guest-house'

Here, *jhi* and *otithi* (in 6 (a) and (b) respectively) do not take any genitive marking in spite of being [+Animate].

In this present analysis I am going to propose that these so called 'subjects' are actually objects, rather than subjects. I will do so in terms of the DET and object of the R-1.

R-1 says that there is a DET position between the subject NP and [\overline{V} ; N] and the subject NP is placed always to the left of the DET.

In cases like 4 and 6 the \emptyset marked element is never to the left of the DET, rather it is to the right of it, e.g.

7. (a) **aSor ey Suru hOWar age eSo*
 function this start happening-Gen before come
 'come before the starting of this function'

- (b) *ey aSor Suru hOWar age eSo*

Moreover, when these \emptyset marked objects are moved to the subject position by some transformation they bear the structurally assigned genitive case, e.g.

8. (a) *moTorer ey na cOla*
 motor-Gen this not running
 'this not running of motor'

- (b) **moTor ey na cOla*

9. (a) *ey moTor na cOla* (ambiguous: [ey moTor] na cOla
 [ey [moTor na cOla]])

- (b) **ey moTorer na cOla*

8 (a) shows that when *moTor*, i.e. the object, is moved to the subject position (left of DET) it is assigned genitive; otherwise the string is ill-formed (as is shown in 8 (b)). Whereas in 9 (a) *moTor* is to the right of DET, i.e. it is in the object position rather than in the subject position, and is not assigned genitive. 9(b) shows that in the object position the assignment of genitive results in an ill-formed string as the structure here does not meet the conditions of R-2.

In terms of semantics there is some difference between the \emptyset marked objects and the corresponding genitive marked subjects of gerunds (cf 9(a) vs. 8(a)). Unlike the genitive marked subjects, the \emptyset marked objects always carry a generic sense, for example,

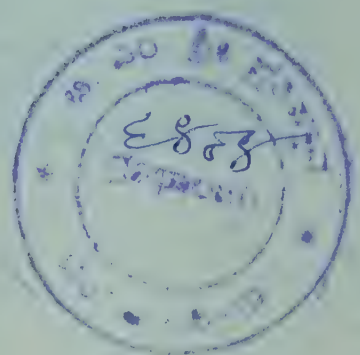
10. (a) *baRite dOroan thaka ucit*
house-Loc gatekeeper staying ought
'the house should have a gatekeeper'
- (b) *baRite dOroaner thaka ucit*
house-Loc gatekeeper-Gen staying ought
'the gatekeeper should be there in the house'

That these \emptyset marked elements occupy the object slot, rather than the subject slot, is supported by another observation: they never co-occur with any other object.

Moreover, the proposal of the objecthood of the \emptyset marked elements is consistent with, and perhaps even provides additional support for the 'Unaccusative Hypothesis' (UH) of Perlmutter (1978). UH says that any monadic verb with an underlying object but no underlying subject will place that object in *clausal* subject position at the surface structure. Thus UH pertains to the structure of *clauses*. And GPs are not clauses, rather phrases (Dasgupta 1979, 1980). So in GPs the underlying objects can surface as objects.

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A NOTE ON THE TRIBAL SPEECH INVESTIGATIONS

P. Somasekharan Nair
University of Kerala

This paper does not attempt to give any theoretical insight into the techniques of investigating the tribal speech forms, but gives some of the observations made on the basis of the experiences the author could acquire during his field work in the Tribal areas of Kerala. It is not presumed that the observations made in this paper would help in the improvement of tribal field investigations, but the sharing of one's own field experiences with other researchers have always been proved to be beneficial to a certain extent.

While discussing about the techniques of tribal speech investigations, one may ask many questions. Should there be different techniques for eliciting data from tribal and non-tribal fields? Is preparing grammar for a language different from preparing one for a tribal speech? Which model of grammar will be more productive for tribal speech forms? In Kerala, the Dravidian Linguistics Association and the Department of Linguistics have investigated the tribal and non-tribal dialects. (Bhattacharya, 1976, Subramoniam, 1974). Both these surveys have employed more or less the same techniques of investigation and this similarity has affected the results.

Though there may be some general techniques for language investigation, slight deviations can be made from those, according to the nature of the speech form and the society in which it is spoken. Linguists are not so serious about discussing the discovery procedure at this stage of development of linguistics, but I feel that the time is ripe for a self criticism about our contribution in the field of language description.

With regard to data collection, two main trends have been observed. Some field workers interested in collecting data in abundance without any selection whereas others collect 'good' data alone. However, eliciting everything in an unsystematic way will hinder the path of the investigator. But the data should be sufficient enough for discovering all the phonological, grammatical and lexical information.

Forceful elicitation of data also results in faulty conclusions. For instance, the lexical items in the tribal speech forms may be limited in comparison with the regional language Malayalam. In some reports on the tribal speech forms of Kerala, it has been observed that the words which are not at all used by the tribals are also forcefully elicited from them. Many a time, English words and Malayalam words, have been elicited by investigators by they themselves suggesting the words to the informants. If the investigator asks the tribal whether a particular item is available in his speech by suggesting the item itself, the informant agrees just to please the investigator. He will be also wise enough to give the forms with some phonological modifications in consonance with the phonology of their speech. Thus, not only do we get the non-tribal words, but also the actual words available in their natural speech will be missed. In most of the cases this happens due to the inadequacy of the questionnaire. If we depend only on the word list, or the questionnaire we will not be able to get all the common words available in the tribal speech form. The questionnaire can be of help only to a certain extent. Most of my short field investigations were conducted without any questionnaire or word list. Only in the last stages of the elicitation, I had to resort to the questionnaire to check the missing items. It would be difficult to list beforehand all the words for which we need equivalents from the tribal community. A patient field work and close observation will help us to do justice to our work.

It is a well known fact that the kind of data to be collected from the field is determined by its purpose. Most of the data that I have collected from the tribal field were for preparing descriptive grammars for the different tribal speech forms. The data collected for the descriptive grammar of the tribal speeches of Kerala have many defects. One of the defects in our data collection is that most of the field workers do not care to elicit more sentences. They only bother about the words and their meaning, grammatical markers etc. Usage is not given any importance. This oversight results in obvious omissions. Only after eliciting many sentences

from the Paniya and Adiya tribal speech forms, could I arrive at a new classification of their personal pronouns. The third person pronouns of the Paniya and Adiya speech forms of Wynad have four fold distinction viz. 1. Feminine singular 2. Non-feminine singular 3. Epicene singular and 4. Epicene plural. See the following table.

Pronouns (III Person)	Paniya	Adiya
Fem. Sg.	Prox. ivaalu Dist. avaa!u	oo!u avoo!u/avoo
Non-Fem. Sg.	Prox. iven Dist. aven	eenu/ee ayinu/ayi
Epicene Sg.	Prox. idu Dist. adu	idu adu
Epicene Pl.	Prox. iveru Dist. averu	eera ayira

In the Adiya sentences, eenu enRa mageen 'He is my son', eenu enRa maale 'It is my chain', oo!u enRa magaa!u 'She is my daughter' eenu means 'he' or 'it', and oo!u means 'she' alone. These sentences give us the idea that the masculine and neuter gender markers are one and the same. The usage of the pronouns adu and idu in both the speech forms have a striking difference from the other Dravidian languages and it necessitates a new category in the classification of the third person pronouns. atu (Malayalam, Tamil), adu (Kannada, Kurumba, Irula, Kanikkara) adi (Kodagu, Pengo), ad (Kota) etc. belong to the category of neuter singular. From the acceptable Adiya sentence adu enRa appey 'He is my father', and the unacceptable sentence *adu enRa maale 'That is my chain', it is evident that adu refers only to animates both feminine and masculine, who are to be respected. In the Paniya and Adiya speech forms, the second person plural ninga 'you Pl.' is used only to address the affinal relations who are older than the ego (for more details, see Somasekharan Nair, 1985). According to my Malamuttan informant niñña!u 'you Pl.' as in Malayalam is used only by a wife to

address her husband. The informant added that the Paniya women address their husbands as *nii* (second person Sg.). The word *oolu* 'she' referring to any woman cannot be used when Malamuttans talk among themselves. If a Malamuttan tells another Malamuttan *oolu inñatu maraan paRayii* 'Please tell her to come over here', the addressee will certainly ask, 'Is she your wife?'. Here *oolu* means wife. "If I am going to the place where your wife is working, and you want to convey a message to her through me, how do you ask me to give the message?", I asked my Malamuttan informant. "We never entrust such things with you", he retorted. I have cited these examples just to show that subtleties and intricacies of the speech form under study, tend to be overlooked, due to inadequacies in the methods of data collection.

Whenever investigators start their field work, most of them escape from the field with the minimum necessary data with which an outline grammar can be prepared. There is no justification in saying that the informant did not say a particular form or it is not in the data. Almost all the investigators have the complaint against the informants that they are not co-operative or are not giving the form actually used. What we need with regard to the tribal speeches of Kerala is the comprehensive and exhaustive recording of all kinds of linguistic data. It is worth mentioning here the comment made by Dr. S. C. Dube while reviewing 'The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh' by Christoph Von Furer Haimendorf. 'The richness and depth of the field data will put to shame many of the contemporary anthropologists who build high sounding analytic models on the basis of skimpy field work'.

Though many of us claim that our techniques of elicitation are adequate enough, our inadequacies are apparent in the tribal field. I do not wish to discuss elicitation techniques in detail here. Observations made on the basis of field experiences are just pointed out. It is always preferable to show objects if they are available at the place of elicitation, or if they can be brought easily to the field. When I felt that it was very difficult to elicit the Malayalam dialect words for cockroach, I carried a cockroach in a bottle to show it to informants. In the Cholanaickan field, I started the elicitation showing a plant to elicit the names of its parts. A grammatical description of the standard language ready at hand at the time of elicitation of grammatical features can help us to construct a quick grammar.

With regard to the responses of the informants and their correctness, there was a discussion in a Seminar organised by the

Dravidian Linguistics Association where some scholars were of the opinion that the informants' first response should be taken as the correct form. Others argued that it is the second response that should be accepted. The second response will be more genuine because the informant would have recovered from his initial embarrassment. Suppose you ask for the word 'leaf' for instance, the informant may give the word *ila* which is the standard Malayalam form. But further conversation with him reveals that he uses *ela* which is true to his dialect. So much emphasis need not be given on the first response. However, the investigator must be able to find out the correct answer. Let me quote an example. When I was eliciting a Malayalam dialect word for *kaṣaṇṭi* 'baldness' the informant first gave me the form *karaṇṭi* which also means spoon in standard Malayalam. It aroused my enthusiasm and I asked him to repeat the word. He misinterpreted my enthusiasm and feeling that what he had uttered was wrong, changed his natural pronunciation *karaṇṭi* into the standard Malayalam form *kaṣaṇṭi*. I corrected the word in his presence, but later I retained his first response by checking in other points also. In Cochin of Kerala, I frequently heard the words *ṇaṇṇa* 'we, Excl.', *ṇamma* 'we, Incl.' and *ṇiṇṇa* 'you, Pl.' for the standard Malayalam words *ṇaṇṇa!*, *ṇamma!* and *ṇiṇṇa!* respectively. When I asked my informant about these words he said that he and his group never used it and that it was a low caste feature (Somasekharan Nair, 1979). Still I observed his speech and found out that he was using the same words which he branded as a low caste stereotype, without he himself being aware of it. In such cases there is no point in stating that the informant did not give the actual form. Such problems are not usually encountered while eliciting tribal speech forms since the tribals do not have such inhibitions. They do not fear ridicule. I have found that data elicitation among the Kerala tribals, viz. Paniyans, Adiyans, Kattunaickans (Ten Kurumans), Urali Kurumans (Vetta Kurumans) and Cholanaickans was relatively easy since they give the forms which they actually use. The tribal informants are indefatigable as our famous field worker Edmond Edmont. They can sit for hours together answering any question on their speech forms.

It is always better to have more number of informants whether the study is sociolinguistic or descriptive. The investigator can have a microcosm of the linguistic structure from a single 'good' informant. But many an informant gives distorted versions of his own language. Samarin (1967:28) reports about one informant who had been encouraged by his fellow villagers to distort the language for a period of seven years. We had also the same type of informants though

they could not succeed in distorting the dialect or concealing their caste identity. During our Malayalam dialect survey, I had an informant who concealed his caste identity because he was afraid that if he revealed his caste he will not be selected as an informant since the data were collected from a particular caste in Kerala, of which he was not a member. After some time noting the inconsistencies in the data got from him, I questioned him and he confessed that he was 'acting' as a member of a different group.

Children play an important role as informants. I have the impression that the tribal children are more co-operative than tribal adults, though according to some scholars, children make poor informants. Among the Cholanaickans in Nilambur forests, the Mulla Kurumans in Puthuvayal, the Paniyans in Thiruvannur and the Kanikkar in Kanithadam, I found that vocabulary items could best be elicited from children.

Nobody would deny that a thorough knowledge of phonetics is an essential pre-requisite for a field worker investigating any speech form, be it tribal or non-tribal. It cannot be said that tribal field workers ignore phonetics, but after a certain stage, they become complacent. Only a good phonetician can do the field work successfully in tribal areas. Inconsistencies of the phonetic symbols and their descriptions also create problems. This can be exemplified by the various representations for a particular phoneme in Malayalam which has the symbols ɭ , Y and ɽ . It is also variously described as palatal voiced lateral and voiced retroflex continuant. ɽ is dental for some scholars while others consider it as alveolar. Those who consider ɽ as dental take n as alveolar and vice versa. Before concluding, I wish to point out that a general questionnaire for the tribal speech forms belonging to the same family can be thought of. The questionnaire for the investigation of the tribal speech forms should not be of the nature of the questionnaire used for dialect surveys. A sociolinguistic survey will be more productive than any type of survey in the tribal areas of Kerala.

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REVIEWS

**DIETER B. KAPP, ĀLU-KURUMBARU NĀYAⁿ.
DIE SPRACHE DER ĀLU-KURUMBAS.
GRAMMATIK, TEXTE, WÖRTERBUCH.**

Neuindische Studien Band 7. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1982
pp. XXXIII + 442.

K. V. Zvelebil

The Nilgiri Hills – a magnificent massif of mountains rising rather abruptly from the Coimbatore plains in the border-land among the three South Indian states of Tamilnadu, Kerala and Karnataka – represent, from the linguistic point of view, what has been termed a “linguistic mini-area”. The Nilgiri District covers an area of 2549 km² at an average elevation of 6.500 feet (Doda-betta 2636 m, Kolaribetta 2628 m, Mukurti Peak 2554 m). Although the Nilgiris have witnessed (or, should we say, ‘suffered’) tremendous ethnic, socioeconomic and cultural changes during the last three to four decades, the area has still remained, in its more remote parts, particularly towards Kerala and Karnataka (west, north-west, north) a region unexplored or inadequately explored anthropologically, ethnographically and linguistically. Within the larger Nilgiri *area* (covering a surface of approximately 24,000 km²) live *at least* sixteen ‘tribal’ communities: Todas, Kotas, Pālu Kuṛumbas, Ālu Kuṛumbas, Muḷlu Kuṛumbas, Bēṭṭu Kuṛumbas, Jēnu Kuṛumbas (alias Kāḍu Nayikas), Ūrāḷi Kuṛumbas, Muḍugas, Mele Nāḍu Irulas, Vēṭṭe Kāḍu Irulas, Ūrāḷi Irulas, Kasaba Irulas, Paṇiyas, Šōlegas and Badagas. As I have tried to show in two articles (1980, 1981)¹, the prevailing

¹‘A Plea for Nilgiri Areal Studies’, *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* IX, 1 (1980) 1–22; ‘Problems of Identification and Classification of Some Nilagiri Tribes’, *Anthropos* 76 (1981) 467–528.

picture of the distribution, identification and classification of the Nilgiri 'tribal' communities and their languages is inadequate, often quite incorrect, certainly slovenly, prejudiced and slanted. It presents a challenge to serious ethnographers, ethnologists and Dravidian linguists. Dieter B. Kapp is one of the few contemporary scholars who took up the challenge and, as a result, has produced, apart from a number of interesting and valuable papers, the book under review – the first rigorous and truly scholarly description of the language of Ālu Kuṛumbas.

Christoph von Furer-Heimendorf wrote in 1952, "Kuṛumba is one of those tribal names which have done so much to obscure the ethnic picture of many Indian regions... Kuṛumba is applied to a number of tribes which have little in common but the accident of residence in an area extending to both sides of the border between Madras and Western Mysore... The elimination of the word 'Kuṛumba' from anthropological literature would certainly prevent future misunderstandings..." Now, thanks to the labours of D. B. Kapp, his papers, and the book reviewed here, as well as a few other papers², we are indeed in the position "to eliminate" the overall cover-term 'Kuṛumba' from our anthropological-linguistic vocabulary. We may perhaps speak of a Kuṛumba tribal *complex* which consists (according to the present state of our knowledge) of the following communities.

1 Ālu Kuṛumbas: about 1000 speakers, living on the southwest, south, southeast and east slopes of the Nilgiris, in some 35 small hamlets, in the altitude of 600 – 1600 m, a 'sister-tribe' of the Pālu Kuṛumbas; thanks to Kapp, the best-known of all Kuṛumba languages.

2. Pālu Kuṛumbas: a tribelet living in nine villages along the upper course of the Bhavani River (southwestern uplands of the Nilgiris); linguistically a 'Tamiloid' language of the Nilgiri group of South Dravidian with numerous archaic features; on the verge of extinction.

3. Muḍugas: a tribelet on the lower southwestern slopes; a 'Tamiloid' language closely related to Pālu Kuṛumba; on the verge of extinction.

²K. V. Zvelebil, 'Bēṭṭu Kuṛumba: First Report on a Tribal Language', *JAOS* 102 (1982) 3, 523–27; 'The 'Tenseless' Verb of Jēnu Kuṛumba', *IJDL* XI, 1 (1982) 184–90; 'Jēnu Kuṛumba: Brief Report on a 'Tribal' Language on the Nilgiri Area', to be published in *JAOS*.

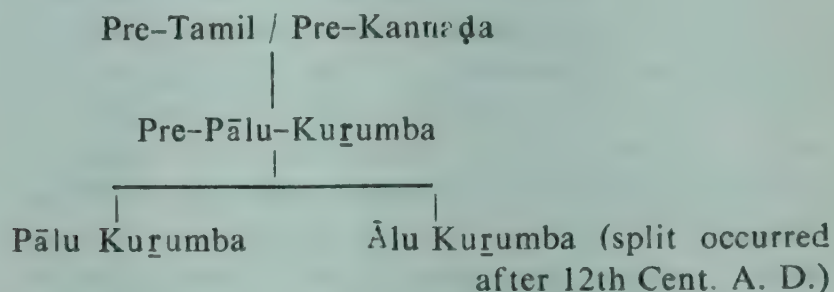
4. Beṭṭu/Beṭṭa Kuṛumba : lower northwestern and northern slopes; linguistically rather a 'Kannaḍoid' speech with some features pointing to the Tamil-Malayalam sub-group.

5. Muḷḷu Kuṛumbas : lower western slopes; no linguistic data available.

6. Jēnu Kuṛumbas (alias Kāḍu Nāyikas) : lower northern slopes; a speech with obvious 'Kannaḍoid' base, but many Tamil-Malayalam features.

7. Ūrāḷi Kuṛumbas : western and northwestern slopes; no linguistic data available.

Kapp's hypothesis of the position of Alu Kurumba (p. XXIX) can be briefly symbolized by this stemma :



One of the goals of Kapp's book was to show that Ālu Kuṛumba was an independent South Dravidian language which manifests, on the one hand, a number of innovations and specific traits both in phonology and grammar as well as in its vocabulary while it has, on the other hand, preserved a few archaic Tamil-like features although it has assumed (perhaps under the pressure of Badaga, originally a Kannaḍa dialect) an overall 'Kannaḍoid' shape.

On pp. XXX - XXXIII of his work, Kapp describes in brief and rather modestly the process of field-work : in twenty of the 35 villages, he has collected his data from 37 (23 male, 14 female) informants, often with the help of J.D. Rajiah, retired Deputy Tahsildar, who had been of assistance to this reviewer, too while gathering field data on various Irula languages/dialects. What sort of setbacks, hindrances, prejudices and disappointments one has to cope with can be appreciated only by one who has, like the present reviewer, worked in the Nilgiris under similar conditions, with a backward, exploited and social rather inferior tribal group (there is not much difference between Ālu Kuṛumbas and Irulas in the

over-all social stratification of the indigenous Nilgiri tribal complex)³.

Kapp's book comprises - apart from the brief but very informative introduction, two appendixes, and select bibliography - three parts: grammar, texts and dictionary. The grammatical portion is divided into phonetics/phonology (pp. 3-50), morphonology (sandhi, 51-65), morphology (66-225). No specific portion is dedicated to syntax; this, however, is not to be regarded as a critical drawback: anyone who is interested in the syntactic structure of the language specifically has at his disposal seven large enough texts (234-71) with close German translation word by word and sentence by sentence; and some syntactic questions are dealt with in the morphological portion.

As far as the grammar-part is concerned, it is a welcome fact that the author has not been lured into any (probably ephemeral) fashionable theoretical framework and style of treatment (whether it would have been generative-transformational, tagmemicist, semanticist, or what not), but offered us solid, clear, 'traditional' synchronic description of the phonemic and morphemic structure of Ālu Kuṛumba.

The most interesting feature of the vocalism seem to me to be the two centralized vowels /ĩ/ and /ě/. I have designated elsewhere (cf. ftn. 1) the centralization of vowels a probable characteristic diffusion-feature of the Nilgiri area, since six non-literary South Dravidian languages exhibit it, five of them of the Niigiris (Toda, Irula, Ālu Kuṛumba, Pālu Kuṛumba, Jēnu Kuṛumba, plus the non-Nilgiri Koḍagu spoken in Coorg). Our knowledge is incomplete, but even so we see that, obviously, some languages - like Irula and possibly Jēnu Kuṛumba - have a full and regular sub-system of centralized vowels, while in other 'tribal' speeches these vowels are limited to fewer position; also, that the center of diffusion of this feature - i.e. retention of strong vowel centralization after the conditioning factors have largely disappeared - seems to have been the Nilgiri area. Cf. e. g. Ālu Kuṛumba *kĩ.e* (Irula *kü.e*) below, under, or Ālu Kuṛumba (and Irula) *mëkku wax*.

³Two charming, moving and hilarious books on fieldwork among a tribal community (in Africa) can be greatly recommended: *The Innocent Anthropologist* (Penguin 1986) and *A Plague of Caterpillars* (Penguin 1987), both by Nigel Barley. The description of my own 'adventures' among various Irula-speaking communities is to appear in 1987 in the South Asian Series of the Maxwell School of Citizenship (Syracuse University) under the title *The Irulas of the Blue Mountains*.

Among the consonants, I find - apart from the preservation of the ancient contrast of /r/ : /r̥/ i.e. postdental to alveolar, rather lax tremulant /r/ in contrast to apico-alveolar to postalveolar, rather tense tremulant /r̥/ - the intervocalic /ŋ/ to be the most interesting development: cf. Ālu Kuṛumba /koŋá/ 'Tamule': /koŋga/ 'Kanarese'; *mak-an̥tu > *mak-an > Ālu Kuṛumba /maŋá/, Irula /maŋä / maŋe/ 'son'.

The subchapter on nasalization is also very interesting (pp. 24-28) - cf. the name of the language: Alu Kuṛumbaru nāyaⁿ [nā : ja]. I cannot abstain from mentioning in this connection the fact that the word for 'language', Alu Kuṛ. nāyaⁿ, Irula na.ya (e.g. ěrlana.ya 'the Irula language') is a loanword > Sanskrit nyāya - method, fitness, argument, Pali ñāya-, Prakrit ṇāya-, nāya-, and that its 'original' meaning in the two Nilgiri languages is 'matter; opportunity; discussion'.

It is an outstanding feature of Kapp's treatment that he deals with the structure of syllables and words, and with the problems of accent which plays, apparently, a rather important role in Ālu Kuṛumba (certainly more important than in the related Irula), cf. pp. 41-50.

The morphology is worked out with utmost care and perfect lucidity. One could of course offer innumerable comments on the various parts of this description, bringing in parallels from the other languages of the area, and even some conclusions with regard to the historical and comparative picture of the South Dravidian sub-family. We shall leave the second procedure to D. B. Kapp himself, since he had promised us a historical grammar of Ālu Kuṛumba (see p. XXIX). Even such brief sub-chapter as that on 'Echowörter' (200 - 201) could - to quote a single instance - evoke quoting parallels and offering comments: thus e.g. the Ālu Kuṛ. uli-gili (some) tiger, tiger (and/or some animal like it), finds its Irula correspondence in pūli-gili which is the subject of an Irula narrative, as well as a widely spread motif in a number of South Indian folk-tales.

I shall necessarily limit myself to the following statement: the morphology manifests features which point in the direction of archaic Tamil-like traits, but also, on the other hand, to Kannaḍa-like innovations. Thus it seems that, e.g., the verbal suffix of the 2nd p. pl. -iru is a reflection of the ancient* -ir, just like the corresponding Irula -iri (cf. Ālu Kuṛ. māḍidiru you-pl. do / will do with Irula ce'giri id.). Where Irula has preserved the inclusive: exclusive contrast in 1st p. pl. (inc. -ō / -o : excl. -e'mu), Alu. Kuṛ.

has only one suffix, viz. $-\bar{o}no / -o$ which can obviously be compared to the Iṛula inclusive $-o' / -o$, cf. Ālu Kur. *banno/bando* we came with Iṛula *vando/vando'* we-incl. came (in addition to Iṛula *vande'mu*, Kasaba *vandamu* we-excl. came). Both Iṛula incl. $-o' / -o$ and Ālu Kur. $-o-n-o / -o$ may be a preservation of an (unattested) pre-Tamil inclusive plural $*-\bar{o}m$.

On the other hand, Ālu Kurumba, although its essential core seems to be derived from pre-Tamil ('Tamiloid'), is more 'Kannaḍa-like' than both Iṛula and Pālu Kurumba (as well as Muḍuga). This is visible mainly in its vocabulary whose Kannaḍa-like or Kannaḍa-derived items have partly 'invaded' the small morphological sub-systems, too. Let us compare the Iṛula obligative:prohibitive₂ sub-system with the corresponding (defective) Ālu Kurumba verbs:

Iṛula (minus Kasaba dialect)		Ālu Kurumba	
positive	negative	positive	negative
(obligative)	(prohibitive ₂)		
<i>vē.ṇo/vē.ṇu</i>	<i>vē.ṇḍa./vē.ṇa</i>	<i>bēku</i>	<i>bēḍa</i>
it is necessary,	it is unnecessary,	es ist nötig,	es ist nicht nötig,
(one) should	(one) should not	erwünscht,	nicht erwünscht,
		(man) braucht	(man) braucht
			nicht

Ālu Kur. *bēku* is to be connected (as a loanword) with Kannaḍa *bēku* > *bēṛku* and Ālu Kur. *bēḍa* corresponds to Kannaḍa *bēḍa* (DEDR 5528). The Iṛula forms correspond rather to the Tamil-Malayalam *vēṇṭu*, *vēṇṭum*, *vēṇum*, *vēṇam*, neg. *vēṇṭām*, *vēṇṭa* (also DEDR 5528) - both, of course, ultimately derived from the monosyllabic Proto-Dravidian root* *vēḷ* to desire, love (DEDR 5528). The Kasaba dialect of Iṛula, like Ālu Kur., exhibits the pair *bēku:bēḍa*.

Kapp offers us - out of a wealth of more than 200 texts he had collected from the Ālu Kurumbas - seven instances: two myths, one tale of origin, one fable, one fairy-tale, one demon-story and an anecdote. The first brief myth tells us why the Earth remains relatively steady and does not quake: because a girl, the younger of two sisters, holds it fast; hence she is called *būma-tāyī* 'earth-mother'. The second (larger) myth tells the history of the creator-god Āka (who himself originated from a miraculous dry lemon-seed, *elumicce-bitṭalu*). The third text narrates the story of the origin of the 'thief-bird' (*kaḷḷakkilu*), the black drongo (*Dicrurus adsimilis*). The fable deals with a nasty and shrewd jackal (*nari*) and an elephant (*āne*) who killed him. The longest narrative deals with two orphans, a girl

(*ēṇṇu*) and a boy (*gaṇḍu*), and their wonderful adventures. Another interesting narrative is the story of a demon (*arākkaci*, cf. Skt. *rākṣasa-*, *rākṣasī-*, Kannaḍa *rakkasa*, *rakkasi*) and the seven sisters (*ēḷu eṇṇu-makkavu*). The anecdotic story, deliciously obscene (as are some of the Iṛula narratives) tells us of a *baṇṇati* washer-woman who, in her lasciviousness, had a miraculous artificial penis (*gēṇe*) made out of leather, similar to the penis of an ass (*kaḷude*); after a series of comic misadventures, the washer-woman was 'rewarded' by the king of the land with a worthy husband, so that she would not have anymore to wash all the dirty linen and use the leather-penis.

The last part of Kapp's work is an etymological dictionary of the Ālu Kuṛumba language. Each entry gives the Ālu Kuṛ. form, the word-class (whether noun, verb etc.), the German equivalent(s), the source when other than Kapp's field-data, the phraseology and idioms if available or necessary, and the derivation, either pointing to the Dravidian connection or to other sources if a borrowing. Quite a number of entries are without any plausible etymology, e.g. *ka'ṇṇa* n. kleine Bandicoot-Ratte; *ka'ttaḷe* n. grünblättrige Agave; *ka'puṭa* n. best. langschnäbliger Nachtvogel; *kā:racu-kōḍi* n. cp. best. Kletterpflanze; *ka':vilu-cē'di* n. cp. best. Dornstrauch; *kūnde-māra* n. cp. best. Baum; *kó:la* n. kleine Bienenart. It is striking but not surprising that most of these items without etymology designate local flora and fauna. It is possible that at least some of them may be derived from a substratum language, spoken by the 'original' inhabitants of the Nilgiris before the advent of the Dravidian-speaking Kuṛumbas.

There are a few entries which are of special interest as they have been found (so far) only in two Nilgiri tribal language-clusters - Kuṛumba and Iṛula. One of these is the word for 'lip(s)': this is *mattu* in all Iṛula dialects, and corresponds to Pālu Kuṛumba *mattu* and Muḍuga *mattu*. So far, this is the known distribution of this item, without any etymological connection. Kapp's Ālu Kuṛumba shows in this meaning another word, viz *duḍi* cf. DEDR 3296 Tuḷu *duḍi*, Tamil *tuṭi*, Kannaḍa *toḍi*, etc.

More interesting is the word for 'tomorrow'. Various Iṛula dialects show a number of related forms: *o'raṅge*, *o'raṅgeku* (Mele Nāḍu dialect), *ovarakaṅku*, *o'raṅku* (Vēṭṭe Kādu dialect), *o'raka*, *ō'raka*, *o'rakkā* (Ūrāḷi). There is an obvious Ālu Kuṛumba cognate, *ora'kuddu* n. Morgen; adv. am Morgen, heute morgen, heute früh. Kapp is not certain about the etymology, but suggests a possible connection with *ora'ku* n. sleep; *ora'ṅg-* to sleep. The Iṛula forms

orange, *o'raṅgeku* would certainly point in this direction. The trouble is that in Iṛula (at least, in 'modern' Iṛula) we have only the apthetic forms *ṛóṅgu-* to sleep < **ora'ṅgu* < ***uraṅku* (DEDR 707), *ṛókku* sleep < **ora'kku* < ***urakku* (ib.). Another problem is the part *ovara-* and the length of the initial vowel in such forms as *o'raṅge*; *o'ra-* looks rather like a contraction of *ovara-*. However, when we search further among entries under DEDR 707, we discover Toda *warx-*, *war-* to sleep, Tuḷu *orva* crookedness, Telugu *orava* crooked, bent, Parji *variyaṇā*, *varah-* to bend. The semantics ('bent': 'sleep') is obvious. Thus, the Iṛula form with *-v-* (*ovara-*) could be connected with the Toda, Tuḷu and Parji forms, but the details would have to be worked out.

In all Iṛula dialects one encounters the term *ja.ya*, *ja yä* trance, divination (*ja.yä cöllu-* to divine in trance). No good etymology is available, but the term occurs also in Ālu Kuṛumba as *já:ya* [dʒá:ja] n. Prophezeiung. Kapp's suggestion of a possible connection with Tamil *cāyam*, *cāyai* colour...shadow...reflected image etc /Skt. *chāyā* - seems to me to be improbable.

I wish to say in conclusion that the etymological dictionary which accompanies Kapp's book on pp. 275-436 has enriched enormously our cognizance of Dravidian vocabulary, and is of tremendous help while working on Dravidian lexicography and etymology (as I know from my own practical present experience, being engaged in a compilation of an Iṛula etymological dictionary).

As Dravidianists we hope that D. B. Kapp will not only publish *in extenso* all his Ālu Kuṛumba texts and work out his historical grammar of the language, but will move on to the two other Kuṛumba languages on which he has ample material - Pālu Kuṛumba and Muḍuga. With Emeneau's *Kota Texts* (1944-1946), his *magnum opus* of *Toda Grammar and Texts* (1984), as well as his earlier monumental *Toda Songs* (1971), my own three modest books on Iṛula (1973, 1979, 1982) and D. B. Kapp's *Ālu-Kuṛumbaru Nāya* of 1982, the linguistics of the Nilgiri area has been solidly established. We have in these works as well as in a number of papers by these and a few other authors, mostly Indian, a reasonably complete and detailed description of four languages of the region: Kota, Toda, Ālu Kuṛumba and Iṛula. These pioneering efforts should be followed by the investigation, analysis and description of the rest of the languages, perhaps half a dozen, perhaps even more, before it is too late and they become extinct.

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF KASHMIRI

Maharaj K. Koul, Indian Institute of Language Studies, Patiala,
IILS Series in Languages and Linguistics - V, 1986. pp. 90, Price.
Rs. 60/-. (\$. 12-00)

S. Vaidyanathan
Punjabi University

Kashmiri one of the neglected languages of India, has drawn the attention of the linguists in the recent past only. Published research materials on this language and its dialects are not that many. A scientific study of this language was first carried out applying the modern linguistics methodology by Prof B. B. Kachru in 1969 (*A Reference Grammar of Kashmiri*). Maharaj Koul deserves our congratulations for his work under review. The book under review is a revised version of his doctoral dissertation on "A Sociolinguistic Investigation in Srinagar and Anantanag" (1982).

The Introduction chapter 1 (p. 1-14) contains information on the geographical location and area investigation, literary history of Kashmir, Kashmiri language and its dialects, objectives of the present study and methodology.

The second chapter makes a survey of literature on Sociolinguistics. In Chapter 3 on Social Stratification (p. 20-25) Maharaj Koul points out that in Kashmir there are two communities viz i Hindus and Muslims, and the caste-hierarchy is absent. "Kashmir, Hindus are all Brahmins, by caste except a few who are Rajputs migrated from Jammu region during the Dogra rule" (p. 20 para 4). "All the Brahmins are Shaivaites" (p. 21. para. 1).

The Muslims of Kashmir fall into two categories viz., (1) priestly and (2) non-priestly class. The non-priestly muslims are grouped according to the their occupations such as carpenters,

washermen, boatmen, blacksmith, peasants, butchers etc. (p. 23, para. 2).

The linguistic variations found at different levels of the language are labelled as Hindu-Kashmiri, Muslim-Kashmiri, Urban-Kashmiri, Rural-Kashmiri, Rural-Hindu-Kashmiri, Urban-Hindu-Kashmiri, Urban-Muslim-Kashmiri; educated-Kashmiri spoken by educated people, illiterate-Kashmiri spoken by illiterate people, old-Kashmiri spoken by old people (!) young-Kashmiri spoken by young people (!) (p. 24-25). Maharaj Koul has not mentioned as to where the line of demarcation can be drawn between Urban-Kashmiri and Educated-Kashmiri, Rural-Kashmiri and Illiterate-Kashmiri.

In his treatment of the Sociolinguistic Variables (pages. 26-62) he has presented the sociophonological variables (vowels and consonants) Sociogrammatical variables, Nouns, Pronouns, Case-markers, Adverbs, Verbs, Simple Past-Tense, Past Present tense, Present tense, Future tense.

In his linguistic statement on the vowels (p. 27, last para) he should have mentioned that lengthening is phonemic in vowels. The occurrence of 'y-' in the variety of Illiterate-Kashmiri (e.g. Educated-Kashmiri: imtiha:n; Illiterate-Kashmiri: yimtiha:np. 33.4. 12.3) reminds us of the situation in the Colloquial Tamil: yemme, 'M. A.'; yenge, 'where?', where the occurrence of y-, is a phonological phenomenon in the South Dravidian languages. It is interesting to note that in Urban-Muslim-Kashmiri, masculine personal names have /a:/ as the vocative marker which is found in the Colloquial Tamil also: "UMK: rəhyma:, 'O,Rahim'. Tamil: ra:ma:, 'O,Ram'.

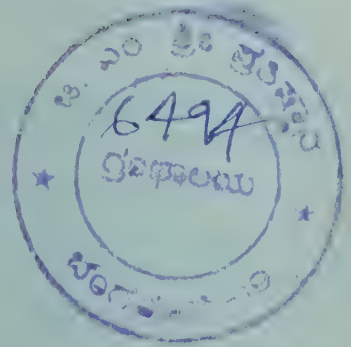
In his discussions on the style switching and use of speech in Chapter 5 (pages 63-69), Maharaj Koul says that "in Hindu-Muslim conversation", the Hindus being in minority try to imitate the speech variety of the muslims (p. 63 para. 2). On the other hand, in his conclusion (pages. 77-80) he points out, "Except religious features, Muslims are in the subconscious process of imitating Hindus as they were the first to receive the benefits of modern education" (p. 77. para. 2). On page 65, para 2, he mentions "But M. Aziz divides "KT (kinship Terms) into three groups", There is no reference to Aziz's contribution in the Bibliography (p. 81).

In its socio-linguistic variations in the use of lexical items (Chapter 6. pages 70-76) those lexical items which have the common source for both Hindus and Muslims present difference in phonemic shape. (p. 70). There are lexical items both in the Hindus and Muslims varieties of Kashmiri showing different sources.

The book under review has a bibliography of 10 pages (pages. 81-90). Recent trend among the Indian academics – more so of the linguists–, and their research scholars, is to furnish an exhaustive (sic) list of books and articles, mostly lifted from either published or unpublished works–whether or not they have read and understood their contents. This is not just an instance of self-deception, but academic dishonesty.

In the bibliography of the book under review, the author has mentioned '*Language*' (1933) by L. Bloomfield (p. 82) and Sapir's '*Language*' 1922 (p. 88). D. P. Pattanayak's "Caste and Language" (IJDL. 1975) (not mentioned in the bibliography) is as much relevant to the subject under discussion as his "Implications of Sociolinguistic Findings for Language Learning" (IL. 32) (3) given in the Bibliography. (p. 88). What is the relevance of including in the bibliography (p. 89) Josef Stalin's *Marxism and Problems of Linguistics*? In fact, Michael Halliday's *Language as a Socio-Semiotic* (1978) which emphasises that man and mankind should be the focus of academic oriented pursuits, should have been included in the bibliography.

These minor criticisms are not meant to lessen the academic value of the book under review. This book should be acquired by linguists who would be interested to look at the sociolinguistic situation of Kashmiri.



REPORTS

REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTICS & THE XIV ALL INDIA CONFERENCE OF DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTS

V. I. Subramoniam

ISDL

On the Ocean front of the Arabian Ocean and in the extensive Campus of the St. Xavier's College adjacent to the International School of Dravidian Linguistics, Trivandrum for six days beginning from 6th of January to 12th January 1986, an International Seminar on Dravidian Linguistics to mark the completion of the fifteenth year of the founding of the Dravidian Linguistics Association and the International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics were conducted with one hundred and three outside participants and about 150 students from College and University Departments around the Campus. The peace and quietude of the Campus were exciting to the participants. The good food and the excellent transport facilities provided by the organisers kept the attendance growing from day by day. The Kalaripayattu performance (Kerala Martial performance) and Kathakali were other attractions for the outsiders. The papers mimeographed, well in time, were circulated hence the discussions were to the point.

The International Seminar and the All India Conference were conducted for three days concurrently from 6th to 9th of January and from 10th to 12th of January the Seminar was continued and yet the attendance was sizable.

In twelve sessions of the Seminar – Historical Linguistics, Socio-linguistics (two sessions), Comparative Linguistics, Transformations, Dravidian and other Languages, Language contact, Applied Linguistics, Development of Regional Languages and

Stylistics and Language Teaching – fifty six papers were read and discussed.

Besides the inaugural session on 6-1-86 which had the address of Hon. M. O. H. Farook, the Chief Minister of Pondicherry and the presidential address delivered by Prof. M. Chidananda Murthy of the Bangalore University and presided over by Shri. C. Achutha Menon, former Chief Minister of Kerala, and the inauguration of the International Forum for Dravidian Research on 7-1-86 by Hon. Shri. K. M. Mani, the Finance Minister of Kerala, panel discussion on 8-1-86 on Language contact and challenge in Education inaugurated by Hon. T. M. Jacob, Minister for Education Govt. of Kerala, a special Lecture on 9-1-86 on the origin of English from Tulu which evoked violent reaction from the participants, a special lecture on 7-1-86 by Dr. S. N. Sreedhar of New York on some issues on Kannada Morphology which evoked discussions, a symposium on the Development of the Regional Language on 11-1-86 and the valedictory function presided over by Hon. Shri. V. M. udheeran, Speaker of the Kerala Assembly on 12-1-86 were popular functions organized for the non specialists.

The All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists discussed in six parallel sessions from 6th to 9th about forty papers.

The foreign delegates, R. E. Asher (U. K.), Prof. K. L. Janert from Cologn (W. Germany), Harold Schiffman Washington, Seattle (USA), Ms Franca Salvi (Italy), Mr. Annie Mansay U. S. A., Mr. A. Govindan Kutty (Netherlands), M. V. Sreedhar (U. S. A.), P. J. Mistry (California), Rocky Miranda (U. S. A.), Ms. Dominique Vitalyos (France), Ms. J. Nikkolay, West Germany were active. H. E. Shri. P. Ramachandran, the Governor of Kerala gave a tea to the foreign delegates and to the President and distinguished participants in India.

Among the non-Keralite registered participants, Tamil Nadu had 21, Andhra Pradesh 10, Karnataka 9, Uttar Pradesh 8, New Delhi and Maharashtra had two each, Kashmir, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Andaman and Gujarat had one each. The Kerala registrants were 60.

Though sessions were formed on the basis of the thrust of the papers, the first session mainly on history and areal influence presided over by Prof. K. L. Janert dealt about Dravidian and Indo-Aryan and in two papers about European languages. The second session was mostly on Lexicon and was presided over by S. Vaidyanathan. The Socio-linguistics session presided by Prof. R. E. Asher covered language planning and shift in the language of

Kannadigas in New York. The third session which was presided over by D. D. Sharma, J. N. Fellow had borrowings and their changes as the major thrust. One of two papers on contrastive linguistics also were discussed in the session. Special session on the genetic affiliation of Malayalam was presided over by V. I. Subramoniam in which Malayalam-Tamil relationship was discussed by H. Schiffman, R. E. Asher, K.M. Prabhakara Warriar and A. Govindan Kutty. Predominantly Telugu research was the topic of the session in which B. B. Radhakrishnan presided. One article on Oraon and another on adult learners and acquisition of Malayalam morphemes were added in this session. The sessions on comparative Linguistics presided over by Harold Schiffman discussed etymology and Tribal Language description. The Kanpur I. I. T. group presented their findings on Transformation which was presided over by V. Prakasam. In the session on Language contact, which was presided over by A. Govindan Kutty some interesting case studies in Munda—the language of minorities found a place. The Socio-linguistics session, included address terms, grading of loss of language, Lexical tradition etc., under the chairmanship of J. Neethivanan. In an interesting session chaired by K. S. Haridas Bhat, Dravidian elements in Sindhi, Mohanjadaro and Dravidian influence on Bengali were discussed along with other papers. The session in Applied Linguistics presided over by Puthusseri Ramachandran had covered teaching problems in language. France Salvi presided over the session on descriptive linguistics and Stylistics which had several papers being the last session including three on Stylistics.

Papers were not rushed through, because of the seven day long sessions. Besides the leisurely discussions and comments, occasionally hot, but by and large, constructive, fraternal relationship of the participants was a note-worthy feature.

The select papers are under print as proceedings and will be published shortly. The Government of India grant is partly used for this purpose.

The expenses for the Seminar was One lakh seventythree thousand rupees. The U. G. C. gave Rs. 51,685. The Department of Education, Government of India gave Rs. 50,000/- and the Science and Technology, Department of the Kerala gave Rs. 5,000 and the Dravidian Linguistics Association met the balance of Rs. 73,000. Though financially it was a strain on the Dravidian Linguistics Association, the achievement of these sessions academically and organizationally was worth the strain. We are grateful to the participants both Indian and foreign, the organisers and the Authorities of the St. Xavier's College for all their help for the conduct of the Sessions.

**REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL
SEMINAR ON THE "SOUTH INDIAN
CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY"
(19-11-87 to 21-11-87)**

V. I. Subramoniam

ISDL

International School of Dravidian Linguistics, Trivandrum, Osmania University, Hyderabad and the Dravidian Philosophical Research Institute, Hyderabad.

Before the Seminar a Call attention notice signed by Profs. T. Donappa, K. Wilson and V. I. Subramoniam was issued which reads.

Every individual has a Philosophy of life which governs his conduct. Every Society of Nation also evolves a philosophy of its own. But validity and utility of this individual or social philosophy have to be tested on the touchstone of the philosophy of mankind a whole. Indian thought which is basically altruistic, egalitarian and secular has to be studied in depth if our Nation is to partake meaningfully the spiritual progress of humanity. But Indian thought as taught and studied in today's India is limited largely to certain streams to the exclusion of certain others. In doing so, several authentically Indian philosophical and cultural traditions are either negated or neglected, misinterpreted, looked down upon and systematically suppressed.

The History of India speaks of six major schools of Philosophy, namely: Nyaya, Vaisesika, Samkhya, Yoga, Purva-Mimamsa and Uttara Mimamsa. Out of these six schools of Philosophy, the first four are non-Vedic and the last two Vedic. Indian philosophy as taught in our Schools, Colleges and Universities makes it appear that the four non-Vedic schools of thought are post Vedic and heretical. However, there is another view which holds

that this non-Vedic stream of thought which gave rise to the Mohenjadar-Harappa Civilization is pre-Vedic, Dravidian and native to the soil. After-all, Mahavira was the 24th Tirthankara and Siddhartha was not the first Bodhisattva. Similarly, neither Thirumular nor Thiruvalluvar were the first amongst the Siddhas. These eminent sages had a long rich pre-Vedic tradition behind them. This hidden heritage has not been adequately high-lighted in Indian history. The misinterpretations of Karma theory and Maya theory have been drilled into the Indian psyche by Puranas, Ithihasas, Sastras and Mimamsas over the past 2000 years to such an extent that it has resulted in the information of Jungian archetypes in the 'collective unconscious' of even the educated Indians, shaping the perceptions, attitudes and behaviours of the entire race. These archetypes do have their psychopathology which is far harder to overcome, once we are ensnared in their billowing coils. Hence there is a felt need to look back on our hidden heritage.

The prosperous and sacred future of India consists in allowing all shades of philosophical tradition to flourish unimpeded. Otherwise, we will be forced, as we did before, to struggle with all sorts of sectarian, monopolistic, domineering trends. Such a situation will only weaken our mother-land. Philosophy is not an idle man's pursuit. The thought force of man is more potent than any nuclear bomb that he has invented only if such force could be channelised to subserve the interests of humanity at large. We want Seminars which will make us think on the right lines of human brotherhood and here is one such institute at your service. You are welcome to join.

When the call attention notice for the Seminar was received readers raised certain issues which are also reflected in the transactions of the Seminar. Such a reaction and fall out were due to the wide coverages which is possible under the title 'South Indian Contribution to Indian Philosophy'. The expectation of the signatories is that the contribution of the Dravidian South to Indian Philosophy will be identified. But the word Dravidian is still not free from the political connotation inspite of the strenuous effort of the Dravidian Linguistics Association and its sister organisations to free the word from the political semantics. Misconception dies hard.

Scholars interpreted the contribution of the South in four ways: (i) the contribution of the great Acharyas like Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhava, Nimbalkar etc. This interpretation led to a restatement and confirmation of their ideas. (ii) to emphasise the

systems of philosophy like Saiva Siddhantam, Vaishnava Siddhantam, Veera Saivism, Veera Vaishnavism etc. which had originated in the South. These according to some are derivatives of the established religions with an emphasise on service to society as in the case of Veera Saivism. (iii) the religions practised in the South like Islam, Christianity, Hinduism and their contribution to Indian Philosophy. For Islam and Christianity the characteristics peculiar to the South have not yet been identified. For Hinduism in one or two points a provable hypothesis was proposed and (iv) to identify the Dravidian elements in the pre-Vedic, Vedic, non-Vedic, post-Vedic religions with evidences. But what was presented in the form of papers was very much less on the fourth point, more on the second. For point three, papers were fewer. A considerable number of papers for point one restated and confirmed the philosophy of the Acharyas.

Since the Seminar being the first of its kind, pertinent questions were raised. These produced stimulation in some delegates especially in the younger ones and dissatisfaction with the elder delegates. Some of them moulded in the traditional teaching could not compose themselves when the conventions and traditions were questioned. Philosophy like any other branch of knowledge has grown out of dissension. Progress itself is based on dissatisfaction. To some dissatisfaction is divine.

On the shore the Arabian Sea, just beyond the Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre in the Auditorium of Tolkappiyar Hall the Seminar began at 10 a. m. on 19-11-87. Though the International School of Dravidian Linguistics unreachable because State Transport Buses ply less frequently and more irregularly, more than seventy delegates had assembled. The observers were about forty. The Secretary for the Seminar. Dr. K. Nachimuttu printed neatly the titles of the papers and the sessions. Against the prevailing pattern of beginning the Seminar after the inauguration which was arranged in the evening of 19th, the Seminar started in time in the morning itself. The papers of the absentees who were few, were dropped. In their place the late papers of delegates who registered only in the last minute were added. Some of the delegates from foreign countries like Malaya, Ceylon and France could not understand how and why late registration was allowed and why papers, copies of which were not circulated to delegates were permitted in Seminars conducted in India. Observation of the dates for submission of summaries and papers is made only in the breach especially in arts and humanity subjects in India. If the papers were not accepted the delegates take that as an insult.

If permitted, the participants of the Seminar assign for the papers only the value of an announcement and forget about them. Those who are earnest about their findings will certainly be benefitted by the searching criticism of knowledgeable researchers. They have to observe the requirements of the date line.

There were administrators like Kasipandian, Inspector-General of Police K. V. Kumaraswamy, Professors, Researchers in Philosophy, Anthropologists, Language Experts, Linguists and Educationists to comment upon the papers. Not frequently the criticism was not veiled but was forthright: 'Why do you observe the double standards'. 'Why not all caste people become Sanyasis instead of the Brahmins but from all Varnas'. 'Brahmin and Brahminism are different'. Such and similar statements were heard in the Seminar. Soon all members of the Seminar were found to discuss in groups during intervals their areas of research in the block where the Book Exhibition was held.

In the forenoon when the first session began Mr. K. V. Kumaraswamy, the Inspector General of Police, Fire Force who has been reading quite a bit on early Indian Philosophical Literature and arguing cogently for the contradictions and the Dravidian Contribution to Indian Philosophy, chaired the meeting and delivered a short version of his paper.

Mrs. Teresa Vijayan of Delhi co-chaired the Session.

K. Thimma Reddy, Telugu University had a stimulating paper on pre-historic religion in India an Ethno-Archaeological overview.

After discussion which was mostly on recovery G. Bhaskar of Tamil Nadu presented his paper on Siddhas and their contribution to Indian Philosophy in which he indicated that much of the Tamil Philosophical traditions are from the Siddhas.

Another interesting paper by S. P. Subarathnam of the Madras University was on the contribution of Sivagamas for Dravidian Culture.

N. Nagaswamy could not be present to submit his paper on Tamil Saivism. Facts of Naturalism in early Tamil Literature was the paper presented by Vedamani Manuel of the Kerala University which covered the five fold division of land the flora and fauna and the beliefs based on them.

S. V. Subramaniam, the author of the paper on 'Tolkappiyar's contribution to Indian Philosophy' covered in general teams the philosophical tenets. Elements of Axiology in Tolkappiyam was

the paper presented by an young scholar, which was mature in its content. He developed his paper on the basis of values, their classifications, sanskrit parallel, deontological values, didacticism and Tamil world view as found in that ancient grammar.

Lognath Muttarayan of Malaya who submitted his paper very early but wrote that he could not get a travel grant to cover his travel was also circulated. Gangadharan of Madurai had a paper on the tension between Dharma and Bhakti in Hinduism and Saiva Siddhanta's contribution. He concluded that whenever a doubt arises in the Sanskrit texts the Tamil - Thirumurais remove it.

In the afternoon, a Symposium to describe the methodology of the study of the 'South Indian Contribution to Indian-Philosophy' was attended by the delegates and a large number of students of the Kerala University.

George Mathew, the Professor of Psychology of the Kerala University gave a detailed methodological description. He observed that by racial mixing the genetic stock improves and the migration is mostly from cold to hot weather areas. The latter increases the sloth. This was commented upon by Mr. Chacko Valia Veetil, K. Wilson and others. The Chairman T. N. Ramachandran in a sober conclusion remarked that overstatement of the Dravidian contribution is as dangerous as its omission in Indian Philosophy.

In the evening hours the formal inauguration of the Seminar by Hon. Sri. Narayana Rao, Speaker of the Andhra Pradesh Assembly under the Chairmanship of Hon. Sri. Varkala Radhakrishnan, the Speaker of the Kerala Assembly was done with an erudite speech. Chairman emphasised the organization of studies on Narayana Guru's contribution to Indian Philosophy. Along with this function, Hon. Indra Reddy, the Minister for Education, Andhra Pradesh outlined the close contact between Kerala and Andhra Pradesh and inaugurated the Nannaya Block built beautifully at a cost of six lakhs of rupees. In the absence of Sri. B. Ramachandra Rao, former Vice-Chairman of the U. G. C. and at present an M. P. and the Chairman of the Governing Council of the International School Prof. V. I. Subramoniam read out the welcome address. The vote of thanks was offered by Sri. S. Kasipandian, I. A. S., Secretary for Food in Andhra Pradesh in which he announced the formation of the Dravidian Philosophical Research Institute at Hyderabad to investigate further the problem raised in the Seminar. An attractive oil painting of poet, Nannaya was also unveiled by Hon. Sri. Narayana Reddy. The heavy down pour was a welcome change though it disturbed slightly the programme of inauguration.

In the evening a slide show on Yoga Vidya and Brahma-Vidya was conducted by Mr. K. V. Kumaraswamy, the Inspector-General of Police, (Fire Force) with explanations. After that V. I. Subramoniam explained the methods of recovery in Linguistics and Cultural anthropology which kept the audience engaged upto 8 P. M.

After dinner a Katha Kali performance by the French Scholar Dominique Vitalyos who also is well grounded in Philosophy was the highlight of the day's proceedings.

The next day's session in the forenoon began at 9 A.M. with Mr. Kasipandian in the Chair and Sri. Chandrasekhara Rajendra-Swamiji of Hubli acted as the co-Chairman.

Integrated Advaita Philosophy of Saiva Siddhanta by Chacko-Valiaveetil, S. I. of Kerala was the subject of his lengthy paper. After explaining the fundamentals of Saiva Siddhanta the author argued that Karma, Jnana and Bhakti are provided for after integrating advaita.

T. N. Ramachandran of Tamilnadu in his erudite paper explained Saiva Siddhanta Hermeneutics as applied to the concept of Maya provoked quite a bit of discussion.

Arul Anbu Israel of Madurai summarised Ramanuja's contribution to Vishistaadvaita philosophy diving it into four stages: a) pre-Alvars, b) Alvars, c) Ramanuja and his followers and d) commentaries of Divyaprabanda.

The similarities in the Philosophy of Plotinus and Sankara by Ms. Teresa Vijayan was a well prepared paper delivered also pleasantly in which the roots of similarities were discussed and not their structural similarities.

K. Munirathnam Chetty of Tirupathy on the Study of the Doctrine of Satta-Traya in Sankara and Vemana analysed the three levels of reality of Vemana and the nativization of Vemana, the concepts for popular appeal.

N. Shanbhag of Karnataka discussed Midhuvacarya and his contribution to Indian thought. Dualism emphasizes bhakti as the all pervading means of attaining bliss was his conclusion.

Viswanatha Achary of Kerala in a well documented paper touched the Kanchi School of Logic and its individuality.

The third Session which started at 11.40 A.M. was presided over by E. I. Warriar and co-chaired by Thimma Reddy of Hyderabad. T. S. Giriprakash of Madurai in his Pothana, the author of Bhaguedata Purana gave an introduction to that text.

P. Krishnan on Pattinathar a Tamil Saint, Mallika Rajarathinam of Ceylon on Thayumanavar, N. Sivarama Murthy on Veera-Brahmendra Swamy were descriptive accounts. E. I. Warriar on the contribution of Kerala to Indian Philosophy was very detailed and learned. Ms. Indira of Madras in her paper Vemana as a reformer was a good introduction to the poet reformer. C. Ramanujacharya of Madras on Theosophy was an integrative attempt. Muni Narayanan Prasad of Kerala gave a detailed account on Narayana Guru's Philosophy. M. Sunder Yesuvadian of Bombay on the Philosophy for reform in India reflected his rich experience in social work. K. Sivadas, R. Kannan, Dharma Reddy in their papers on the source of Dravidian Philosophy, Contribution of Siddhas, Philosophy of Vemana respectively gave descriptive accounts. The discussion of the participants made the Chairman to extend the Session upto 7 P. M. The unfinished paper of K. V. Kumaraswamy was continued upto 8 P. M. which was followed by a performance of Kalaripayattu, a martial folk art by C. Thankaraj and party.

Folk and Tribal elements in Philosophy, Religion and Ethics was the topic of the Seminar presided over by A. S. Narayana Pillai and co-chaired by Thimma Reddy.

K. L. Murthy of Pune presented a detailed paper on Folk, religious cults and oral traditions in Andhra Pradesh. R. De Silva's paper on Life and after life in the Bhuta Cult was interesting. Rathina Sabapathy's paper on Sivajnana Munivar's contribution to Saiva Philosophy was learned but is on a classical author. V. Karuppayyar's paper on the little tradition of Malavellalas of Kolli Hills was interesting. Sivanandan's paper on Dravidian Ethnonyms was stimulating but was not relevant to the topic of the Session. M. Navaneetha Krishnan and Vijayalakshmi Navaneetha Krishnan presented their paper on Folk and religious music which was very entertaining, because of their performance.

A Symposium on modernising the syllabus for Philosophy in Indian Universities was chaired by K. Wilson and K. Saratchandran gave the keynote paper. About half a dozen Scholars pointed out the lacuna in the syllabus.

One most fruitful Session was the review of the Book. 'Hidden Heritage' by S. K. Pandian in which a Professor of Philosophy and a Professor of Cultural History took positions which were opposed to each other. Their frank appraisal was most pleasing to all parties present.

A Book Exhibition in which six firms participated was visited by the delegates and outsiders..

In the afternoon, just before the Valedictory Address, another Symposium on Philosophy Vs. Fundamentalism was discussed by N. Innaiah, Teresa Vijayan and T. N. Ganapathy.

In the Valedictory Session, welcomed by K. Wilson and chaired by E. I. Warriar, G. B. Mohan Thampy the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Kerala observed that Philosophy being an intellectual subject knowledge from all quarters should find a place and supression or neglect is as injurious as narrowing down the orbit of study. K. Nachimuttu, the Secretary proposed a vote of thanks in which he summarised the proceedings and the partial help of the U. G. C. with a grant of Rs. 47,000/- when the total expenditure is about Rs. 1 lakh.

The Seminar on a topic very infrequently discussed created enthusiasm with the younger elements. The debates were unfortunately not continuously recorded, due to failure of electricity. The three days spent were fruitful in the intellectual sphere and also in the sphere of hospitality, it was satisfactory.

The Proceedings will be edited and printed soon.

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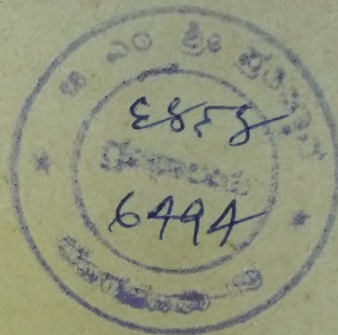
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